INTRODUCING INDIA

PART I

OTHER BOOKS PUBLISHED BY THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

MONOGRAPH SERIES

1. AŚVAGHOSA
   By B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt.

2. THE KOL TRIBE OF CENTRAL INDIA
   By W. G. Griffiths, M.A., B.Sc., B.D., Ph.D.

3. THE BHALESI DIALECT
   By Professor S. Varma, M.A.
   (In the press)

4. HUMAYUN IN PERSIA
   By Professor S. Ray, M.A.
   (In the press)

5. THE UPPER ATMOSPHERE
   By Professor S. K. Mitra, M.B.E., D.Sc., F.N.I.
   (In the press)

INTRODUCING INDIA

PART I

K. N. Bagchi
W. G. Griffiths

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, CALCUTTA
1947

Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and Printed by Sures C. Das, M.A., General Printers & Publishers Ltd., (Abinas Press) 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta.

INTRODUCTION

Recently in connection with a scheme for the expansion of its activities the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal instituted a course of lectures on popular subjects open to the members, their friends, and any of the public interested in such subjects. These lectures were well attended, but it was felt that a certain number were of sufficient merit to justify an appeal to a wider audience than those who listened to them within the walls of the Society's rooms. It was resolved therefore that a selection of them should be issued in the form of a volume with illustrations and entitled "Introducing India." For this purpose Dr. B. C. Law has most generously donated the amount of Rs. 9,000/-.

The present publication is the first of the series and will give an idea of the character of the lectures as a whole. Attention may be directed to them as follows: The Article on "the Temples of India" by Sir Norman Edgley, has presented us with an interesting account of the development of Hindu religious architecture, as exemplified by the various temples which have made the building art of India such a fascinating study. The lecturer has traced the growth of the temple structure from the very earliest times, beginning with the religious foundation on which they were visualised, through their gradual evolution as actual buildings, until they assumed that grand form as inspiring monuments of art and architecture, appealing not only to the spiritual emotions of those who worshipped there, but also to the aesthetic senses of all those who appreciate great and lasting works of art.

A natural sequence to the foregoing is the article on the "Gods and Goddesses of India" by Prof. J. N. Banerji, as it gives the reasons for these great creations of stone which house and sanctify the deities and their following. The lecturer explains in a most convincing manner the "true significance and purpose of Indian image-worship," so that one fully understands the movement underlying this great religion, which binds its following into one religio-cultural system of immense strength and profound depth.

Dr. R. B. Pal has taken as his subject the "Dawn of Law in Ancient India," and puts before his audience the early records of the manner in which early India began its legal code, basing its procedure on divine authority, a study of more than ordinary interest.

"The People of India" was an address delivered by Dr. W. G. Griffiths in which he provides a useful outline of the various races

which make up this complex aggregation comprising the population of this country.

Nothing that the art history of India can produce is more romantic than the account of the interpenetration of the classical ideal into the Buddhist movement of north-west India beginning more than two thousand years ago. Prof. Eric Dickinson who has made an intensive study of this aspect of Indian Art illustrated his lecture with some remarkably graphic examples of the Greek and Roman influence on the plastic art of the monasteries in Gandhara. Although the effect of the Asiatic Greek contact on the stone sculpture of the North West was well known, the lecturer produced small and exquisitely modelled busts and figures in stucco which proved that a second phase of this classical movement took place at a later date and corresponding more [redacted] the Roman rather than to the Hellenic pattern.

A rather misty period of Indian history is that of the early middle centuries of the first millennium, and Sir Norman Edgley in his "Glimpse of India Thirteen Hundred Years Ago" endeavours by means of a study of the records to penetrate into this indefinite but most interesting era. By means of the writings of that earnest pilgrim and indefatigable traveller Hieun Tsang, he throws considerable light on the conditions of the late Buddhist movement and the country as a whole at the time of this enterprising Chinese investigator of the seventh century A.D.

A subsequent period, also regarding which information is of the utmost value, was provided by Mr. L. R. Fawcus in his lecture on the "Travels of Marco Polo," the Venetian's journeys to and fro from the Far East, although well authenticated, reading more like romantic fiction than realistic facts, but they supply material which has formed the basis of much modern investigation and serious study.

"The Ancient Historic Sites of Bengal" have been the object of considerable investigation but Dr. B. C. Law in his lecture brought many unknown facts to light, and put before his hearers a view of these remains of the utmost value and one which will stimulate others to further study. Historical feminity received a generous tribute from Mr. Justice N. A. Khundkar, in a lecture entitled "Three Moghul Ladies" which included also a description of a royal pageantry exceeded at no other period and in no other country. A later historical chapter is written by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his "Bengal as Clive found it," a paper of a most purposeful order, and treated in a scholarly and at the same time sympathetic manner.

An insight into that interesting and picturesque aboriginal tribe "the Santals" is provided by the researches of Rev. W. J. Culshaw,

who gives much additional information in his lecture regarding the manners and customs of these attractive but ingenuous people, while Mr. C. S. Mullan deals in the same way with the "Hill Tribes of Assam" leading his audience into the recesses of the mountains where these inhabitants of the eastern regions of India practice their peculiar rites and ceremonies.

The country of Sikkim, a small State but which harbours so much that is worthy of study, is fully described by Mr. A. J. Dash, whose knowledge of the mountains, valleys and rivers so closely associated with the magnificient peak of Kanchanjunga, is unrivalled. "Jungle Life in Bengal" is ably dealt with by Mr. L. R. Fawcus, the flora and fauna of this vast tract being most graphically pictured.

That highly experienced worker in the piscatorial field, Dr. Hora, relates the result of his many years of research on the "Food and Game Fishes of Bengal," a subject of vital consequence at the present period of dietetic stringency in India. Many will read with interest Mr. Tyson's deductions on "the Impact of War upon the Industries of India," wherein the lecturer outlines with considerable technical skill the achievements and potentialities brought about during the eventful years which have recently ensued.

The object of the Society in publishing these lectures in their present form is to make them available by these means to a larger circle of readers, and so stimulate interest in the various aspects of cultural research in the country.

The Editors are indebted to Mr. Percy Brown for the illustrations and drawings facing pp. 4, 5, 8 and 58 which are taken from his work on "Indian Architecture". The photographs facing pp. 6, 7 and 9 have been kindly supplied by Messrs. Johnston & Hoffmann, Ld., Calcutta. The map facing p. 51 is from one issued by Messrs. Bemrose & Sons, Ld., London.

The editors are aware that there are a number of printing errors in the body of the book, and also that its publication has been long delayed by a series of unfortunate occurrences, each of which contributed its part: printing press strikes; the Calcutta "disturbances" of 1946; certain changes in Staff at the Society, etc. Nevertheless what is here presented ought to lead to a deeper appreciation and understanding of India.

K. N. Bagchi
W. G. Griffiths
Joint Editors

CONTENTS

PLATE I

Plate 37

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SKETCH MAP

BAY OF

BENGAL

THE TEMPLES OF INDIA

The great temples of India occupy a position of such outstanding importance in the cultural life of the world that even a lifetime of intensive study would hardly be sufficient for an adequate survey of the thousands of years of religious development which they represent. Hindu mythology and iconography alone take us back to the very origin of civilisation. Further, the history of the builders of the temples is often connected with movements which fundamentally affect the whole of Asia and the solution of problems relating to the artistic and architectural development of these places of worship is sometimes a matter of almost bewildering perplexity.

In these circumstances, in the short time at my disposal I can only discuss a few aspects of this complicated subject. I propose therefore to deal very briefly with the question of the growth of temple worship among the Budhists and the Hindus of ancient India and to refer to some of the stages in the development of the "palace temples," as exemplified in particular by the great shrines at Bhubaneswar and Puri and by the Minakshi Temple at Madura in South India.

I use the expression "palace temples" designedly, for these great Hindu shrines are not primarily centres of congregational worship like the cathedrals of Europe but are palaces in which the presiding deities hold their court like earthly princes. As observed by Sir Charles Eliot in his well known book on "Hinduism and Buddhism":—

"The commonest form of temple ritual consists in treating the image or symbol as an honoured human being. It is awakened, bathed, dressed and put to bed at the close of the day. Meals are served to it at the usual hours." He goes on to say:—

"It is clear that the spirit of these rites is very different from that which inspires public worship in other civilised countries at the present day. They are not congregational or didactic, though if any of the faithful are in the temple at the time of the god's levée it is proper for them to enter and salute him".

The whole domestic life of the ordinary Hindu family is regulated by religious observances to an extent which is almost unknown elsewhere. This daily religious life, however, centres round household and village deities rather than the great temples, but the latter

come very prominently into the picture in connection with the celebration of certain important festivals when multitudes of pilgrims assemble to do homage at shrines of outstanding sanctity and to form part of the retinue of the presiding deity as he is carried in state to a garden house or pillared hall which may be situated outside the main temple precincts. There the deity holds court sometimes for several days and grants audience to many thousands of enthusiastic devotees.

One of the most famous of these festivals is the Ratha Jātrā at Puri. On the occasion of this festival Jagannāth (who is regarded as a manifestation of Viṣṇu) is carried in procession with his brother, Balabhadra, and his sister, Subhadrā, from the great temple to a garden house, (the Gundicha-bāri) on the outskirts of the city. Here they remain for about seven days before returning to the main temple. Not infrequently nearly 100,000 pilgrims are attracted to Puri on this great occasion. Eagerness to approach the sacred cars in their passage through the densely crowded streets sometimes results in fatal accidents. It must, however, be remembered that Vaiṣṇavism in any form inculcates a high regard for the sanctity of human life. Viṣṇu is the Preserver of mankind and there is no substance in the strange stories which are sometimes told about pilgrims who immolate themselves beneath the wheels of the cars in order to appease a ruthless and bloodthirsty God.

Although the idea of temple worship has developed in this country only during the last two thousand years, the temples of India may nevertheless be regarded in the history of culture as the lineal descendants of the great palace temples of Chaldea, Assyria, Egypt and Greece. One of the most important links in this chain of development is provided by the cultural contact between India and the ancient civilisations of the West, which was firmly established by the conquest by Alexander the Great in 326 B. C. of the greater part of the Punjab and by the subsequent invasions of the Bactrian Greeks.

Available historical and archaeological evidence seems to indicate that, when the Grecian invasions took place, temple worship formed no part of the religious system of India. The religion of the majority of the ruling classes in the northern part of the country was Vedic Brahminism. Their sages had developed an elaborate system of philosophy; they expounded the doctrine of the transmigration of souls and advocated strict adherence to the rules of caste. The gods of these people represented powerful forces of nature, which might be propitiated by an elaborate sacrificial ritual known only to the Brahmins themselves. The Vedic sacrifices were not,

however, of such a nature that they had to be performed in temples. On the contrary, they necessitated the erection of altars in the open air. At this time Buddhism and Jainism, which were to some extent popular reactionary movements against the extravagant claims of the Brahmin priests, do not seem to have obtained many converts beyond the boundaries of the kingdoms of Magadha and Kosala.

Although Vedic Brahminism represented a force which was destined to exercise the most profound influence on the history of India, the fact remains that, even at the end of the last millennium before the beginning of the Christian era, it was the religion only of a privileged minority of Aryan descent, whose ancestors had overrun the northern provinces from about 2000 B. C.

The mode of worship followed by the many millions of Indians of aboriginal or Dravidian descent had been but little affected by the Aryan invasions. These people followed an immense number of primitive cults which were largely pervaded by animism. They paid divine honour, not to deities who resided in temples, but to the spirits of departed ancestors, ghosts, demons, fairies and godlings embodied in stones, trees, rivers, animals and even serpents.

Although a number of wayside shrines may have been erected in connection with the above mentioned primitive cults, the prototype of the great palace temple was probably introduced into India by the Greeks. It is recorded that Alexander himself erected altars on Indian soil in honour of Grecian gods and many Greek temples must have been built in the garrison towns founded by Alexander. The recent excavations at Taxila have proved that a Greek standard of civilisation survived in north-western India even after the establishment of the Kushan Empire about 60 A.D. The Jandial Temple at Taxila was built in the first century A. D. but it is an outstanding example of the Greek style. Although this particular temple seems to have been used as a Zoroastrian place of worship, it is probably typical of the Grecian shrines that had been erected in that part of India during the preceding three hundred years.

The settlement of the Greeks in the Punjab coincided with certain revolutionary changes in the ritual and doctrines of the early Buddhists. This important development was directly connected with the adoption by Asoka (about 250 B. C.) of Buddhism as the state religion and the introduction by him of the stupa cult more than two hundred years after the Buddha had attained *nirvāṇa* at Kusinagara.

The Buddha had founded an important religious order based on love and charity. He had preached that true enlightment could be attained only by the suppression of desire, and that the compli-

cated ritual and even the austerities practised by the Brahmins were useless as a means of escape from the restless misery of continuous existence in numerous successive incarnations. The doctrine taught by the Buddha was, however, essentially intellectual, unemotional and almost atheistic and, before the time of Asoka, it had not succeeded in making a wide appeal to the masses.

By distributing the Buddha's relics among numerous stupas through his dominions Asoka set in motion a movement which almost immediately developed into relic worship and ultimately into the deification of the Buddha himself, who came to be regarded by his devotees as a personal divinity and the saviour of mankind. The great nations of the West, with whom India had been brought into intimate contact through the Greek invasions, had honoured their deities for many centuries by providing for them earthly homes or temples. Some temples to foreign gods had already been erected on Indian soil. The followers of the Buddha had now acquired a personal deity no less powerful than the great gods of Egypt, Persia and Asia Minor, and the time was ripe for Indians to adopt the practice of temple worship in respect of what had now become the most influential religion of the country.

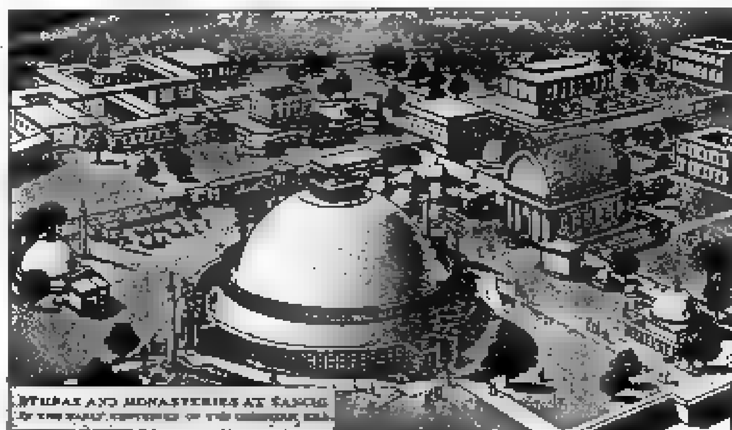
In the earliest Buddhist shrines the presence of the Buddha is invariably represented by a stupa, a throne, an umbrella or some other symbol. The Buddha image was a later development. The best examples of these early Buddhist places of worship, constructed in the first and second centuries B.C., are to be found at Sanchi and among the cave-temples of Western India at Bhaja, Ajanta, Bedsa, Nasik and Karli.

A further impetus was given to the popularity of Buddhism by the gradual elaboration of the ritual of worship and by the growth of the Mahāyāna system of theology, which regarded the Buddha as the centre of an enormous pantheon of Bodhisattvas and other divine beings through whose intervention in the affairs of man salvation might be achieved. Buddhist monasteries and temples sprang into existence all over India and, between the second and the seventh centuries A.D., it seemed within the bounds of possibility that Buddhism might become the national religion of the country.

Typical of the famous Buddhistic establishments of ancient and mediaeval India were the numerous monasteries of Taxila and the Gandhara country, from which Buddhist art and religion spread to Turkestan, China and Japan. Of even greater repute as a seat of learning was Nalanda (in Bihar), at one time one of the most celebrated universities in the East, whence Buddhist scriptures were

PLATE 2

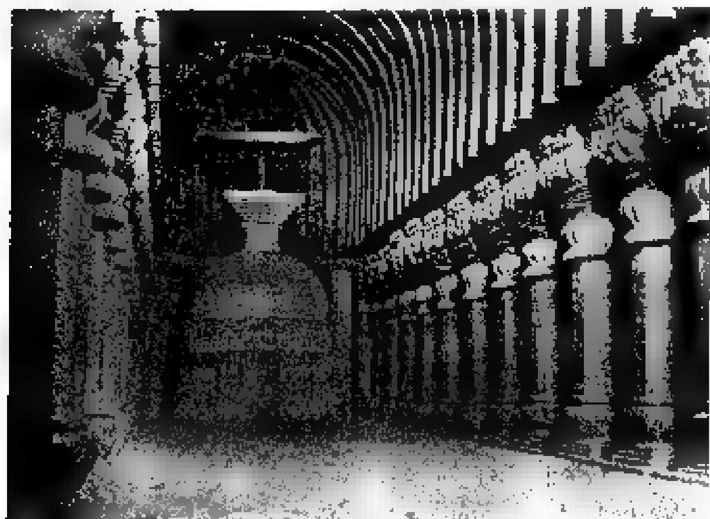
Jandial Temple



STUPAS AND MONASTERIES AT SANCHI

PLATE 3

Gupta Temple—Tigawa



Chaitya Hall—Karli

carried to Nepal and Tibet and even to Java and Cambodia. Equally renowned as a centre of art and culture were the temples and monasteries of Ajanta in the Deccan. It was here that cave architecture reached its highest degree of perfection and where magnificent paintings were executed, the technique and vitality of which are still admired by artists from all corners of the world.

The failure of Buddhism to maintain its position in India was due to the strength of a Brahminical reaction which had gathered great force by about the fourth century A.D. By this time Buddhism had become so influential that it threatened the vested interests and authority of the Brahmins who regarded themselves as the divinely appointed leaders of the people. The Brahmins of ancient India did not usually aspire to actual temporal sovereignty but they constituted an enormously powerful force behind the throne as the custodians of the sacred texts and the preceptors of the ruling classes. In certain respects they were regarded as almost superior to the gods themselves. Brahminicide was the greatest of all sins and to maintain Brahmins in affluence and comfort was the most meritorious of all acts.

Although the influence of the Brahmins had declined as more and more converts, especially from among the non-Ayranised Indians, were received into the fold of the Buddhist Church, they nevertheless represented all the forces of cultured conservatism in ancient India when, at the beginning of the first millennium of the Christian era, circumstances compelled them to become the leaders of a popular movement which was ultimately to develop into modern Hinduism and to give India the magnificent temples which have aroused enthusiastic admiration among so many travellers in this country.

A whole volume might be written in sketching the development of this great movement. For the purpose of this address, however, it will perhaps suffice if I merely refer to a few of the main factors which contributed to the revolutionary change which was destined to bring the great Vedic gods to earth as divine princes of the common people, to Aryanise numerous hitherto despised deities of the Dravidian and aboriginal tribes and also deify the ancient legendary heroes of India.

(1) The first and probably the most important of these factors was the extraordinary popularity which was achieved by the great Indian epics known as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. The nucleus of these poems is to be found in ancient ballads of extreme antiquity but they gradually assumed their present form from about the fourth century B. C. to the fourth century A. D. The texts were frequently edited and recast during this period under Brahmin

influence so that in the final recensions we find that the heroes of the poems have become vested with divine attributes. Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, who may originally have been historical personages, are presented as incarnations of Viṣṇu. Brahmin claims to authority are cleverly reasserted and heterodox beliefs such as Buddhism and Jainism are vehemently denounced.

(2) It was approximately the same period which witnessed the remarkable development of Puranic literature. The Purāṇas purport to contain detailed biographical accounts of the chief gods and their families, mainly with a view to the special glorification of Śiva and Viṣṇu. They also describe the sacred places of India with particular reference to their association with the principal deities of the Hindu pantheon. Many of these legendary and mythological stories are manifestly of a pre-Aryan origin and indicate the Brahminical determination to include even the aboriginal tribes of India within the Hindu fold by recognising their favourite deities as manifestations of Śiva or Viṣṇu. Even the *liṅga* and the serpent, which were definitely non-Aryan religious symbols, acquired a position of unique importance in the comprehensive system of neo-Hinduism.

(3) By the fourth century A.D. temple worship had obtained too strong a foothold in India to be neglected by the priesthood as a means for the perpetuation of their power and a source for the edification of the masses. The final stage in the reactionary movement was therefore reached by the erection of temples as earthly habitations for the numerous deities of the Purāṇic pantheon. The walls of their shrines were elaborately sculptured with symbolical and legendary representations concerning the deities to whose worship the temples were dedicated. The old sacrificial ritual was suitably modified. Festivals were instituted and pilgrimages encouraged.

It was the end of this period of development which witnessed the construction of a number of temples in Central India by the kings of the imperial Gupta dynasty. The best known of these are the rock-cut sanctuaries at Udaigiri in the Bhopal state, the Tigawa Temple in the Jubbulpore District and the shrine at Deogarh in the Jhansi District. They are small but they form the nucleus from which the great temples of northern India ultimately developed with their lofty curvilinear towers (known as *śikharas*) which crown the *vimānas* or main shrines. The prototype of these towers was probably the relic stupa which formed the centre of religious worship in the early Buddhist establishments.

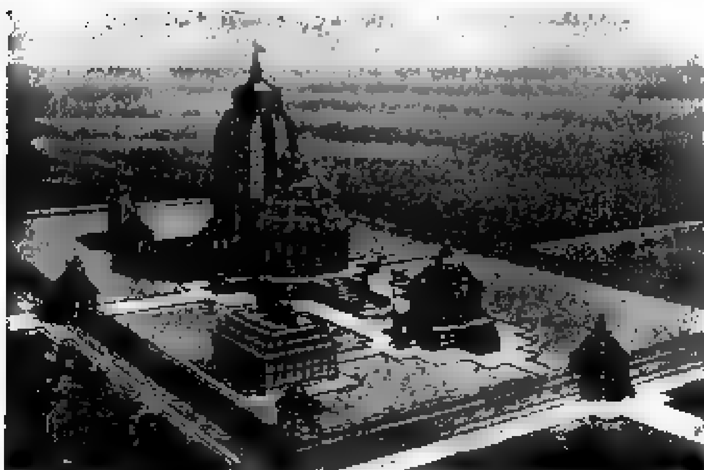
Many of the early temples of the north have disappeared as

PLATE 5

Lingaraja—Bhubaneswar

PLATE 4

Mukteswara—Bhubaneswar



Sun Temple—Konarak (Reconstruction)

they lay in the direct route of the Muslim invaders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and were destroyed in order to provide materials for building the mosques and fortresses of the Islamic conquerors. The existing temples at such celebrated religious centres as Benares and Muttra are comparatively modern structures. Few traces remain of the famous Hindu cities of Pataliputra, Ajodhya and Kanauj but at Delhi, Ajmer and Jaunpur it is still possible to form some idea of the high measure of achievement attained by Hindu architects and sculptors, from the carved lintels and columns from Hindu temples, which have been extensively used in the great Muslim buildings at these places.

Fortunately, however, there remain even in North India some excellent examples of the work of the Hindu temple builder, at such places as Chitor and Udaipur in Rajputana, at Gwalior and Kajuraho, and above all in the famous group of mediaeval Orissan temples at Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarak. It is in this last mentioned group that the palace temple of northern India reaches its highest stage of development between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries and I propose to show you a few pictures and plans in order to illustrate this important phase in the progress of temple architecture.

In South India Hindu architecture developed on slightly different lines. Although religious buildings in the northern style exist sometimes side by side with the so called Dravidian temples, the most characteristic feature of the early shrines of South India is a low pyramidal tower over the *vimāna*.

Fergusson and other later writers were of opinion that these towers developed from the multi-storied monastic buildings or *vihāras* of the Buddhists. Several monolithic shrines, which were cut in this style probably during the reign of Narasimhavarman (630-668 A.D.) are to be found at Mahabalipuram in the Madras Presidency. Fergusson points out, however, that "we must not take too literally a representation of a monastery, carried out solidly in the rock, as an absolutely correct representation of its original". No archaeological traces have yet been discovered of a pyramidal *vihāra*. It is possible that the idea of the pyramidal tower which characterises the early temple of South India was not derived directly from any ancient multi-storied monasteries, but it may have been intended to be an architectural adaptation of the idea of a courtyard in which the *stūpa* is in the centre of a square, the four sides of which are occupied either by monastic cells or subsidiary shrines.

Earlier experiments in temple building had been made by the

Cālukyan kings at Aihole in South-west India during the latter half of the fifth century by adapting Buddhist *caitya* halls to Hindu religious uses, but the result was by no means satisfactory from an aesthetic point of view. This method was therefore discontinued and temples with pyramidal *śikharas* began to be constructed in many places in South India from the end of the seventh century A.D. Characteristic specimens of these buildings are:—

(1) The Shore Temple at Mahabalipuram (c. 700)
(2) The Kailāsanath Temple at Conjeeveram (c. 700)
(3) The Mālikārjuna and Virūpākṣa Temples at Pattadakal (c. 740)
(4) The famous rock-cut Kailāsa Temple at Ellora, which was copied from the Virūpākṣa Temple between 750 and 850 A.D.

The magnificent Chola temples at Tanjore and Gangakonda-cholapuram represent eleventh century developments of the same style.

The final phase of mediaeval religious architecture in South India is chiefly remarkable for the conversion of the palace temple into a citadel in which the retaining walls of the courtyards were replaced by concentric lines of fortification and the main shrine became completely overshadowed by massive and lofty gateways (known as *gopurams*) which, besides emphasising the dignity of the deity, served as watch towers against possible enemies in time of war.

Among the earliest examples of this class of temple may be mentioned those at Chidambaram and Jambukeśvara (near Trichinopoly), the oldest *gopurams* of which appear to have been built about 1250 A.D. under the late Chola or early Pāndya Kings. It was, however, under the Vijayanagar Emperors and (after the fall of that Empire in 1565) during the regime of the Nayak dynasty of Madura that the most imposing of these fortress temples were erected.

The construction of these strange but impressive blocks of buildings may be attributed partly to the military necessities of the period, and partly to the religious zeal of the Hindus who felt themselves compelled to make a supreme effort to preserve their faith from Muslim aggression.

In the early years of the fourteenth century Malik Kafur had invaded the South and sacked the great Hindu cities of Warangal and Dvarasamudra. He is even said to have penetrated as far south as Ramnad. Vijayanagar was founded by some princes of

Kailasa—Ellora

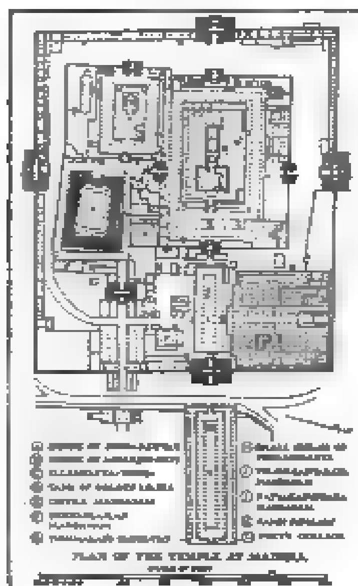
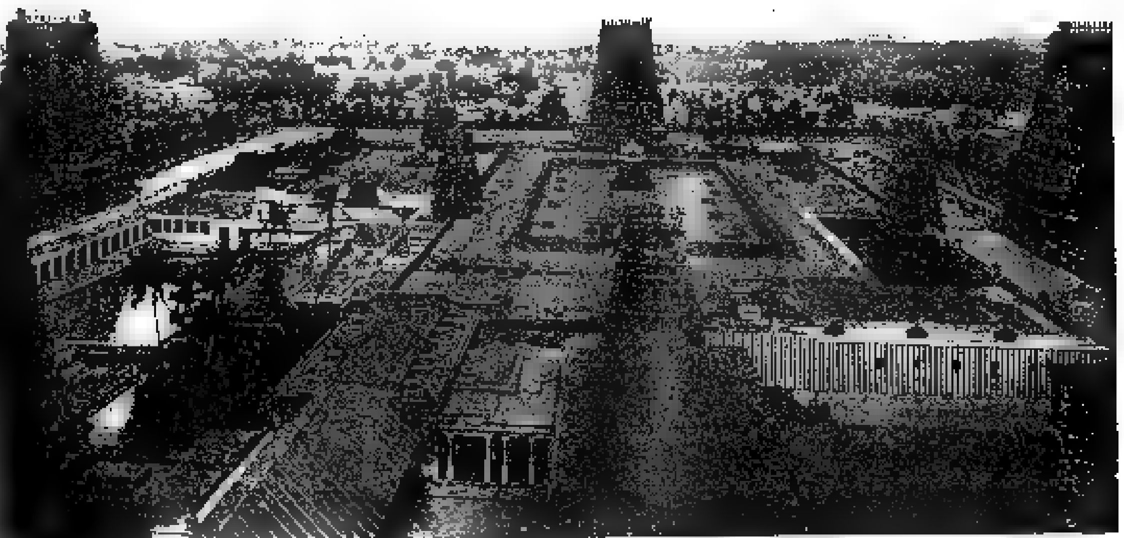


PLATE 7



General View—Madura

one of the deposed dynasties about 1336 A.D. and for more than two centuries formed the centre of an empire of great power and splendour, which effectively stemmed the rising tide of Muslim expansion in that part of India.

The result was a powerful renaissance of Hindu art and religion. Ritual became more imposing and festivals and processions more magnificent. The desecrated temples were rebuilt on a vaster and more grandiose scale. The sculpture with which they were embellished became more elaborate and the pillared halls, to which effigies of the deity were carried on festive occasions, were constructed on a more extensive plan and with a more sumptuous design. At the same time, the constant threat of invasion was not forgotten by the architects. The new temples were therefore designed to accommodate many thousands of persons in times of emergency and,if necessary, to withstand a prolonged siege. How well they served their purpose was illustrated during the wars between the English and the French in the eighteenth century when several of these temples were garrisoned and held by the opposing forces as points of first class strategic importance.

Apart from the lofty *gopurams* the impressive pillared halls (or *mandapams*) of these temples are perhaps their most remarkable characteristic. In their original conception these pillared halls were possibly influenced by the plan adopted in constructing the ceremonial apartments of the royal palaces of the period. The audience halls in such typically Hindu palaces as those built by Mansingh at Gwalior and by his namesake at Amber are based on the same fundamental design as that which was followed by the Moghul Emperors in the corresponding durbar apartments at Agra, Fathpur Sikri and Delhi. This design has a remote origin. The discovery of a palace of the Scytho-Parthian period at Taxila shows that it was introduced into India, possibly from Assyria, as far back as the beginning of the Christian era. It was only in the fitness of things that the audience halls of the princely deities of India should follow this ancient plan and it is therefore not surprising that the *mandapams* of the temples of the Vijayanagar Empire should display a close affinity to the same prototype.

The exuberance and bewildering vivacity of the sculptured groups of mythical beasts, which adorn the piers of the pillared halls of the South India temples, form the most striking feature of these buildings. These fantastic heraldic animals (known as *yālis*) are used with great effect in scores of *mandapams* erected during the reigns of the Vijayanagar Emperors or their successors, some of the

most characteristic examples being found at Vijayanagar, Vellore, Srirangam, Conjeeveram, Rameswaram and Madura.

Temple architecture in South India culminates with the great temple at Madura. It is said to have been begun during the reign of Viswanātha Nayak, the founder of this dynasty, but most of the buildings in the temple enclosure are associated with the name of the celebrated Tirumala Nayak who reigned from 1623 to 1659. The existing temple covers an extensive area but it seems to have been Tirumala's intention to construct yet another vast courtyard which would have included the large Pudu Mandapam which he built between 1623 and 1633. The design was too ambitious and the great eastern *gopuram*, which was intended to overshadow all the others, was never completed.

The Madura Temple is perhaps hardly inspiring or satisfying as an architectural achievement. Its intention is possibly too ostentatious and its decoration too ornate. At the same time, the visitor to this temple cannot but feel that it is a great monument which testifies to the vitality of a religion which even in these prosaic days still inspires intense enthusiasm and devotion.

THE GODS AND GODDESSES OF INDIA

Before the discovery of the Indus Valley remains, the dawn of history in India was marked by the age of the early Rigvedic hymns which, however, illumined a part only of the whole panorama of Indian civilisation. Systematic study of the numerous objects unearthed in the sites of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa testify to the existence there of a people well-advanced in the arts of civilisation, and thus carry the period of the first ushering in of light in Indian history to a few millennia back. But the light is more fitful and uncertain, and the interpretation of a good many of the interesting antiquities turned up there by the excavators' spade is still not beyond doubt. Yet a careful study of the devices appearing on the seals and amulets as well as a correct interpretation of the terracotta figurines and other objects has partially acquainted us with the nature of the beliefs and practices of the pre-historic people of India in that region. With regard to the representation of the Indus Valley divinities of the remote past, Marshall observed. 'the people of Mohenjo-daro had not only reached the stage of anthropomorphising their deities, but were worshipping them in that form as well as as aniconic'; for the highly conventionalised type of the image of what he justifiably describes as the proto-type of Śiva-Paśupati, its stylised details and the fact that the kindred image portrayed on the faience sealing is being worshipped by the Nāgas clearly point to its being 'a copy of the cult idol'.

The type of culture as portrayed by the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas was different from the one current among the Indus Valley people; it is almost universally accepted now that the Vedic-Indo-Aryans were later immigrants. The question whether the latter were also worshippers of images is a controversial one and it has been differently answered by different scholars. One group maintained that the Vedic Indians did not make images of their gods and goddesses, while the other held just the opposite view. But as truth very often lies between opposite assertions, it is probable, nay almost certain, that the higher section of them were not makers and worshippers of images, the practice possibly existing as a social undercurrent only among the lower section of the Indian people. The Vedic gods and goddesses which were mainly the personifications of natural forces were no doubt anthropomorphised in a greater and lesser degree, but it will be a little too rash to suppose that figures corresponding to these descriptions were actually made. The very nature of the principal

religious practice as described in the early texts would militate against this supposition. A reference to a concrete representation of Indra—it might have been an aniconic symbol—in two only of the Rig verses should not be made much of in this respect; the Indra symbol was never meant for worship and thus was no image proper, and, as I have shown elsewhere, might have been used for 'abhicāra' purpose in the sacrificial ritualism of the period. This is a case of a likely exception proving the rule; that the images had no recognised place in the sacrificial form of religion is proved by the fact that the early authoritative Brāhmaṇas which are eloquent about the minutest details concerning the various sacrifices, are completely silent about the divine images which would certainly have been explicitly mentioned, had they been found necessary. The 'hiraṇmaya puruṣa' mentioned in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in connection with the 'Agnicayana' ceremony could never have stood for the image proper of a deity. Besides, such words signifying the latter, as 'mūrti', 'arcā', 'vigraha', etc., and terms denoting temples are conspicuous by their absence in early Vedic literature.

The words 'Śiśnadeva' and 'Muradeva' used as opprobrious epithets in some Rigvedic verses may, however, refer to a certain section of the pre-Vedic Indians who were worshippers of the phallic emblems and images. Discovery of a fairly large number of phallic and ring-stones in the Indus Valley of the prehistoric period has substantiated this hypothesis to a great extent. Textual and archaeological data of the late Vedic and post-Vedic periods prove that far-reaching changes were being introduced in the religious outlook of even the higher section of the Indo-Aryans as a result of the commingling of cultures of the conquerors and the conquered. The element of 'Bhakti' or loving adoration of one personal god which could not have been prominent in the sacrificial form of religion current among them had already come to occupy a recognised place by the time some of the later theistic Upanishads like the Śvetāśvatara were composed. But the recipients of this loving adoration of the individuals were not the Vedic divinities like Indra, Agni, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Yama, Prajāpati and others but personal deities like Śiva, the Yakṣas, the Yakṣiṇīs, the Nāgas, the Nāginīs, the devatās etc., who were mythological beings, or Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Mahāvīra, originally historical persons but later raised to the position of the principal sectarian divinities. Some at least of the Yakṣas the Nāgas and the devatās were undoubtedly at first the objects of 'bhakti' to a vast section of the Indian mass who subsequently became converts to other sectaries which had for their

principal cult objects the figures of Śiva, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Mahāvīra. This is very interestingly borne out by the archaeological remains of the Śuṅga period and afterwards. The folk deities such as Kuvera the Yakṣa, Elāpatra the Nāgarāja, Sirimā devatā, Culakokā devatā, Sudarśanā Yakṣiṇī and others carved on the gateway and the railing pillars of the Stūpa at Bharhut, Nagod State, Central India, themselves originally objects of worship, are presented in an opposite role, viz., in that of so many worshippers of the Bhagavān Buddha. The inscribed image (pratimā) of the Bhagavān Maṇibhadra found at Pawaya in Gwalior State proves that it was enshrined there in the first century B.C. by the goṣṭhī or the society of the worshippers of Maṇibhadra (Maṇibhadra-bhaktāḥ) for religious purposes.

Thus, there is little doubt that the practice of making divine images and worshipping them which was already existing as a social under-current among the lower stratum of the Indian people gradually found recognition among the higher section of the Indians most of whom have by the end of the pre-Christian period become attached to one or other of the religious creeds grown round the personalities of Vāsudeva Viṣṇu, Śiva-Rudra, Durgā, Buddha and Mahāvīra. But with regard to the followers of the first four, it may be observed that though their systems began as departures from the orthodox Vedic ways of religion, still their differences with the latter were soon made up to a great extent, and the Vedic, specially the Upaniṣadic thoughts formed one of the distinct backgrounds of their doctrinal tenets. The amalgamation of the two religious modes is distinctly marked by the fact that some of the Vedic gods like Viṣṇu, Rudra and Sūrya came to be merged in the composite sectarian divinities, and this merger was so complete and so important for the sects themselves, that some of the latter came to be designated, optionally at first, but more constantly at a later period by the names of the Vedic counterparts of their cult-pictures. The part played by Viṣṇu in the Pāñcarātra or Bhāgvata cult which came to be described as Vaiṣṇava at a later date should be noted in this connection. Besides, many of the anthropomorphic descriptions of the Vedic divinities were utilised in the concrete representations of the sectarian deities with whom they were identified. This fact is easily discernible in the images of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu and Śiva, and their various aspects.

The practice of making images of their gods and goddesses was greatly developed among the Indians due to causes such as the wide prevalence of sectarianism, the phenomenal increase of the pantheon, the canonisation of the modes for the making of icons etc. But

one of the most important contributory factors to its development was India's contact with the foreigners, specially the Greeks in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era and those succeeding it. The view that the Indians learnt the practice from the Greeks, one upheld by many scholars, cannot be supported now. But the image-making activity of the early Indians seemed to have received a new impetus, after they had come into close contact with the Hellenistic Greeks in the north-west. This can be demonstrated with the help of the representations of some Indian divinities on early Indian coins as well as seals. An analysis of the figures of Śiva and his emblems appearing on the early punch-marked coins of India, as well as on the die-struck coins of Ujjain and its neighbourhood, and a comparison of these with Śiva depicted on the coins of some early foreign rulers like Maues, Wema Kadphises Kanishka and Huvishka, as also with the figure of Śiva shown on the coins of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas will help us in this respect. The figure of Viṣṇu appearing on a Kushāṇa niccolo seal tentatively attributed by Cunningham to Huvishka when compared with the one of the same divinity on the reverse side of the Pāñcāla king Viṣṇumitra's coin, the analysis of the north-Indian Sūrya figures and the figures of Umā on the coins of Azes and Huvishka, and those of Lakshmī on the coins of the imperial Guptas, a comparison of the Hellenistic Buddha figures of Gandhāra and the indigenous Buddha types of Mathurā and its environs will also further substantiate our hypothesis. The themes were in all these cases Indian, but technique of presentation of some varieties of them was undoubtedly Hellenistic in character.

It is time for us now to say a few words about the inner idea or ideas underlying the practice of image-worship as prevalent in India in its developed stages. The different sectaries found the images of their respective deities and their emblems necessary for rendering their bhakti to them. The symbols and images in their case did the same sort of service as was done by Fire (Agni) in the Vedic ritualism; as the latter carried the oblations of the sacrificer to the gods, so a particular image served as the holy medium through which the worshipper (the 'bhakta') could transfer his one-souled devotion ('ekātmikā bhakti') to his god. The Pāñcarātrin rendered his homage to his god by various acts of 'pūjā' such as '*abhigamana*' or going to the temple of the deity with one's speech, body and mind centred on him, '*upādāna*' or collecting the materials of worship such as flowers, incense, sandal paste, offerings (naivedya), '*ijyā*' or the very act of worshipping the Śrī-Vigraha (the auspicious body of the lord), '*svādhyāya*' or the muttering of

the mantra special to his god (this is the twelve-syllabled one—'Oṃ namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya'), and lastly 'yoga' or meditation. The last constituent of the act of 'pūjā' has got special bearing on the present topic. The author of the Śukranītisāra enjoins that the characteristic signs of the images are known to be necessary for the full success of 'dhyāna-yoga' (meditation and blissful union with the god); the image-maker should (make images) after being himself engaged in meditation (Dhyānayogasya saṃsiddhaiḥ pratimā lakshaṇaṃ smṛtam Pratimākārako martyo yathā dhyānarato bhavet). Many images are known where the deity himself is shown in the pose of a Yogī, *i.e.*, one immersed in deep meditation; the images of a Jina, Buddha, Yogāsana Viṣṇu, Yogadakshināmūrti of Śiva and such others should be mentioned in this connection. A reference to an interesting passage in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, will not be out of place here. Nārada's visit to Badarikāśrama to see the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa is described in it. Nārada finds the latter engaged in the act of worship; bewildered at this (for Nārāyaṇa himself was an object of worship), Nārada asks him about the latter's object of devotion. Then the lord tells him that he is worshipping his original Prakṛiti, the source of all that is and that is to be. Thus, this undoubtedly refers to something beyond the images and the gods themselves whom they represent, which is nameless, formless and expressionless. Such icons depicted in the very pose of the dhyānayoga' had also the practical utility of aiding the devotee to concentrate his mind on his deity and the unknowable principle beyond it. The true significance and purpose of Indian image-worship must be understood in this light and once this is acknowleged it will be found very little really idolatarous about it. True it is that some Indian thinkers like the authors of the Jābāla Upanishad and the Mahānirvāṇa Tantra found fault with it and derided the efforts of those who thought of attaining salvation through such pratice; but they were firm believers in worshipping the highest principle without the aid of any medium (nirākāropāsanā), and were really upholders of the early Upanishadic tradition which maintained 'there did not exist the rūpa or form of the supreme principle in anything to be seen, nor one can see it by his eyes (Na sandṛśe tisthati rūpamasya, na cakṣuṣā paśyati kaścanainam). But we have also the other side of the picture. Of the sectaries in India, the Bhāgavatas or the Pañcarātras who were perhaps most responsible for the wide diffusion of image-worship attached excessive importance to the images of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, his Vyūhas and Vibhavas. These images after due

consecration were regarded by them as the very bodies or the forms of the god,—these were really one of the five-fold aspects of the Lord Vāsudeva, *viz.*, *Para*—the highest, the *Vyūha*—the emanatory aspect, the *Vibhava*—the incarnatory form, the *Antaryāmin*—the god as the inner controller of the soul, and lastly the *Arcā*—the duly consecrated image. A bhāgavata who delighted in establishing a close personal nexus or bond in his mind between his god and his own self found such an image indispensable for the practice of the several modes of the bhakti for his lord, such as 'vātsalya', 'sakhya', 'dāsya', etc. This method of religion was based on the unique sublimation of an image to the very position of the godhead, the object of deep loving adoration to the devotee. The process presupposes a mental preparation, a studied effort on the part of the bhakta, which culminates in the attainment of that frame of mind in which an object fashioned by human hands reaches such an august level. The Achāryas or the Vaiṣṇava saints of the southern India and many other great personalities of India were highly cultured people and that they indulged in this practice was no proof that they were weak unevolved persons. It is true that the root idea of image-worship can be traced to animism—but so also can the idea of the imanence of god be traced—, yet in its rationalised and developed form there is very little place for crudity and savagery. It has been remarked that, 'In dealing with savage ideas of the inanimate, it must be kept in mind that non-living things are worshipped or feared not in any symbolical sense, which is altogether foreign to lower intelligence, but as supposed home of a spirit, or as in some sense a vehicle of power'. This symbolism is futher expressed and emphasised by the very characteristic of the Indian images with many hands, which has been dubbed as a monstrosity by some western scholars. Yet as I have just said, the images were not ends in themselves, but were really means to an end. The Buddhist and Brahmanical Tāntric Sādhakas also found them necessary in their difficult and complicated religious sādhanas, though in their mystic and esoteristic way they absolutely identified themselves each time with the particular aspect of the supreme reality which was being represented in concrete, meditated on and worshipped by them.

Now, I shall try to explain the inner idea underlying a few images of the Gupta and the post-Gupta period. These images were not all meant to be enshrined in the main sanctum (garbhagṛha) of the temple. Many of them were accessories in the sense that they were illustrations of particular mythological stories about one or other of the different cult-deities. It is well-

known to many of us present here that most of the Śaiva temples, if not all, had and still have for the principal object for enshrinement a phallic emblem of Śiva, while a particular kind of Vaiṣṇava icon which might serve as a 'pārśvadevatā' (an image meant to be placed in a subsidiary niche) in one Vaiṣṇava shrine, might figure as the chief object of worship in another."

ANALYSIS OF A FEW TYPICAL IMAGES

One of the side niches of the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh, Lalitpur Sub-division, Jhansi District, Central India, contains a relief which portrays one of the acts of deliverance performed by Viṣṇu. It is known as his Karivarada or Varadarāja aspect. In this form he delivered Gajendra, the lord of elephants, from being dragged into the water and destroyed by an aquatic monster. The distressed elephant praised Viṣṇu who promptly appeared on the scene to rescue his bhakta. Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa is shown in the middle; just below on the left is the elephant with his trunk upraised in prayer and his legs ensnared in the coils of the monster; Adi-Śeṣa and his consort are shown half-raised from their watery habitat with their hands in the añjali pose as ecstatic witnesses of this act of deliverance of their lord; on the topmost section are depicted a couple of Vidyādharas accompanied by their consorts hovering in the air and holding either side of an elaborate crown evidently meant for the god. This simple act of grace on the part of the deity is shown with a great deal of warmth of feeling by the Gupta artist. The motif is very frequent in the south of India; the Varadarāja temple of Viṣṇu at Viṣṇu Kanchi enshrines this aspect of the lord.

Another niche of the same temple at Deogarh contains the figure of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa recumbent on the folds of Ādiśeṣa. It is known as Anantaśayana; the god lies in a very graceful pose on the coils of the serpent which symbolise the primaeval waters; his consort Lakṣmī is shampooing his legs; Brahmā is seated on a lotus above, which is supposed to spring from Viṣṇu's navel; the other gods hover round in the sky; a couple of attendants, perhaps personified representations of the weapons, stand near the god's legs; on a panel below, are shown a few male figures in fighting pose, one female only standing on the extreme right corner. The relief as a whole, no doubt, illustrates a particular mythology as narrated in the epic and purāṇic literature, but it also expresses in a very interesting manner the idea underlying the concept of the cosmic god Nārāyaṇa. Nārāyaṇa is so named for the 'nārāḥ' or the waters were His resting place. The root idea can be traced further back to the tenth maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda. The 82nd hymn there describes the god Viśvakarmā (really the one universal principle underlying the universe) in this manner;—'That which is beyond the sky, beyond the earth, beyond gods and spirits,—what earliest embryo did the waters contain, in which

all the gods were beheld? The waters contained that earliest embryo in which [redacted] the gods were collected. One (receptacle) rested upon the navel of the unborn, wherein all beings stood." It is true there is some parallelism between the pose of the main figure of the relief and the Greek sculpture Endymion in Stockholm, but the former is thoroughly Indian in its theme and treatment. This type of Viṣṇu image is one of the commonest ones enshrined in the main sanctum of the South Indian Vaiṣṇava shrines of some antiquity and importance; there it is specially designated as Raṅganātha or Raṅgaswamī.

In an elaborate representation of Yogāsana Viṣṇu of the mediaeval period, now housed in the Mathura Museum, the god is shown seated in the Vaddhapadmāsana pose with his front hands in the 'dhyānamudrā', engaged in deep meditation. On the top section of the prabhāvalī are depicted Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva—the orthodox Brahmanical triad—inside separate miniature shrines; there are also many accompanying figures, some of them being the 'āyudhapuruṣas.' This image in a very characteristic manner illustrates the god as Yogī, the ideology of which has already been explained by me.

There is a miniature stone image of Viṣṇu in the Mathura Museum of the early Gupta period which shows certain interesting iconographic features. It is three-faced and four-armed; the central face is human, while the right and left ones are those of a lion and a boar. Many similar and nearly similar figures of Viṣṇu have been found in different parts of Kashmir, and one such mutilated image originally found at Benares is now in the collection of the Zemindar of Tepa, Rungpur. The last image and several of the Kashmerian ones are fully in the round and they show on the back of their head a fourth face which, though human, is very fierce-looking. The correct significance of these is to be found in the Viṣṇudharmottara description of Vaikuṇṭha or Caturmūrti, a peculiar variety of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu, which illustrates in a very interesting manner the Vyūha doctrine, one of the most important tenets of the early Pāñcarātra school. The four different faces of the god, as the Viṣṇudharmottara informs us, typify 'bala,' 'jñāna,' 'aiśvarya' and 'śakti,' four of the six ideal guṇas ('ṣaḍaiśvarya'—'jñāna,' 'bala,' 'vīrya,' 'aiśvarya,' 'śakti' and 'tejas') associated with Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha respectively. Thus, however much weird the image seems to be to those who do not know the ideology underlying it, to the initiated it portrays nothing but one of the aspects of his god, which symbolises a particular doctrinal tenet.

Now I shall draw your attention to two early Śaiva images,

one being still worshipped in a place called Gudimallam, near Renigunta, Madras, the other discovered at Mathura. Both of them emphasise the association of the worship of Śiva with phallicism. The Gudimallam sculpture which goes back to as early a period as the first century B.C. depicts the God standing firmly on the shoulders of a malformed dwarf (Apasmārapuruṣa, or the impersonation of evil and ignorance according to the Śaiva Agamas), clad in a very diaphanous loin cloth and holding in his hands a battle-axe and a ramlike animal ('paraśu' and 'mṛga'); he is carved on a very realistic Śivalinga. The Mathura sculpture, of a later date (probably 2nd or 3rd century A.D.) presents to us a four-armed variety of the god carved on a more conventionalised form of his phallic emblem. Need I point out that these two sculptures symbolise in a very characteristic manner the lord presiding over the primeval principle of creation, the former also presenting him as the destroyer (*cf.* the battle-axe in his left hand) and the supporter of beings (*cf.* the ram or 'mṛga' in his right hand—mṛga means also 'paśu'); the 'Apasmāra-puruṣa' under his legs points out that he also subjugates evil.

The destruction of the evil by the divinity is the theme of so many different cult icons, that it will not be possible for me to discuss even a few of them. I may draw your attention, however, to the Mahiṣāsuramarddinī aspect of the goddess Durga-Pārvatī, which has so very interestingly been portrayed not only in the different parts of India but also in Indonesia. The seven hundred verses of the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, known as Durgā-saptaśatī and Chaṇḍī, expatiate on the mythology and the deep symbolism underlying this concept of the Devī. The dynamic presentation of the theme in the sculptures of Mahavalipur and Ellora, or the more static and subdued way of showing it in the numerous images of this type in India and Indonesia, express 'with extraordinary power and concentrated passion the wrath and might of the Supreme Beneficence roused to warfare with the Spirit of Evil;' yet the element of detachment from the act as well as extreme compassion for the demon being destroyed is present in the expression of most of these sculptures.

The oft-represented figure of Buddha preaching the first sermon at Sarnath idealise in a sublime manner the miracle of the expounding of the supreme truth by the Master out of compassion for the supreme truth by the Master out of compassion for the countless sufferers of this world, the 'bodhi-jñāna' being first realised by him as a result of his own long-continued efforts spread not only through many years of his last birth, but also through countless ages in his numerous previous births. The particular *mudrā* or the pose in

which his hands are shown emphasises this fact; the pose of his left hand is known as the 'jñāna-mudrā' (signifying the acquisition of knowledge), while that of his right as 'vyākhyāna—' (meaning expounding), these two poses being collectively described as 'dharma-cakra' with special reference to the act of grace performed by the Buddha.

The numerous early and late images of the Tīrthaṅkaras strikingly depict the attitude of deep *samādhi*, even when these are shown standing erect in a stiff frontal pose with their hands hanging down to the knee by their side. This pose is fittingly described as 'kāyotsarga.'

I shall now draw your attention to a few images which in a very characteristic way emphasise the oneness of the different cult-icons. The images of Hari-Hara, Hari-Hara-Pitāhama, or Dattātreya, Brahmā-Viṣṇu, Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava, Śiva-Buddha, Arddhanārīśvara and others are definite attempts at reconciliation and rapprochements between rival sects; they also prove in a way that the different concepts underlying the different divinities are really those of one universal spirit. In the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, there are several sculptures which lay stress on this. On the four sides of some Śivaliṅgas are carved the figures of Viṣṇu, Durgā, Sūrya and Gaṇapati, which four along with the central Liṅga symbolise the cult pictures of the five principal Brahmanical sects, viz., Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Saura, Gāṇapatya and Śaiva. Miniature shrines with these chief sectarian deities carved on their different sides, mostly of early and late mediæval periods, have been discovered in various places of Northern India, especially at Benares which has been the happy home of the sects through remote past.

I may lastly refer to the unique evolution of the religious mind of Hindu India in the shape of the sublime Naṭarāja images of Śiva, the deep symbolism underlying which has so ably been analysed by A. K. Coomaraswamy. I cannot resist the temptation of ending this lecture of mine with a few words from the great French savant, Romain Rolland, inspired by this very image-type. "The whole vast soul of India proclaims from end to end of its crowded and well-ordered edifice the same domination of a sovereign synthesis. There is no negation. All is harmonised. All the forces of life are grouped like a forest, whose thousand waving arms are led by Naṭarāja, the master of dance. Everything has its place, every being has its function, and all take part in the divine concert, their different voices, and their very dissonances, creating, in the phrase of Heraclitus, a most beautiful harmony."

J. N. Banerjea

DAWN OF LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

In fixing any point of beginning for anything the thing itself must, first of all, be definitely known. The question is whether by 'Law' we mean the 'legal provisions' or the 'social order.' The modern practical jurist understands by the word 'law' generally only legal provisions because these constitute the part of law which interests him primarily in his everyday practice. Those who understand by 'law' nothing other than legal provisions would observe a multiplicity of laws. The legal provisions may be and mostly are different in different states. On the other hand, those who centre their attention not on legal provisions but on the social order would be sure to observe and emphasize the common element in the midst of this variety. This social order is among civilized states and peoples similar in its main outlines.

The social order rests on the fundamental social institutions: marriage, family, possession, contract, and succession. A social institution may not be a physical, tangible thing. Yet it is perceptible to the senses in that persons who stand in social relations to each other act in their dealings according to established rules. In a strange country we may encounter some deviations from the system we are accustomed to and may become involved in difficulties as a result. But soon we become sufficiently instructed through what we see and hear around us and can manage to avoid collisions, even without acquiring a knowledge of the provisions of law.

Using 'law' in the sense of the legal order, the inner ordering of society is the historical starting point. A society is not an aggregate of isolated abstract individuals, but is the sum of human associations having relations with each other. The inner ordering of these associations is the historical starting point. This inner order of associations is the original and is still the basic form. From it spring the logically derivative forms, the body of legal precepts or guides to decision, and the technique of the judicial process. The basic character of this inner ordering is established by the continuity of society even in breakdowns of a politically organised or kin-organised social order.

The question which we are proposing to examine this evening is: where to find the dawn of law in this sense of the word 'law'?

Dr. Berolzheimer, of whose work Sir John Macdonell observes that it enables us to ascend to a height from which we can see law as an ever present part of an ever flowing stream, says: "Closely

connected with the religious and philosophical views of the Vedic Aryans are certain fundamental positions in regard to the philosophy of law, which in turn became the antecedents of later legal and ethical developments among the Greeks and Romans." Foremost among these philosophical conceptions is 'Rita' which is at once the organized principle of the universe and the divine ordering of earthly life. As the latter it is affiliated with purpose and human benefit.

The derivative conceptions of Vrata, Dharma. Dhama, and Svadha represent special aspects of Rita.

According to Dr. Berolzheimer, the Romans, through the Greeks, derived from Vedic 'rita' their central conception 'ratum,' 'ratio,' 'naturalis ratio' and Augustine christianised 'rita' into 'pax'—which is not peace, but that which brings peace, the blissful, sacred order.

Order is the universal bond that holds the world together; order assigns a place to all created things: it is directive and distributive justice. Order is universally sought and esteemed. The so-called opponents of order are not opposed to the principle; they renounce only the existing order of things but not order itself.

To the twentieth century, the problems seem to be:

(1) not what law is, but what law does, how it does it, what it can be made to do, and how;
(2) the canon of valuing the conflicting and over-lapping interests and claims which must be harmonized or adjusted by the legal order;
(3) the limits of effective legal action and the means of securing effectively the interests which the legal order recognizes and delimits.

But these have not always been the problems of all ages. In order to appreciate the legal thinking of any time we must take account not only of the problems of that time to which the thinker's thought is addressed, but if possible, also the modes of thought of the immediate past, which, as he sees it, are proving inadequate to those problems.

You all know how the rise to paramountcy of the political organization of society and the regime of absolute Governments, which obtained in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries largely determined the thinking about the nature of law in the nineteenth century. Law was taken to be a body of laws prescribed by a political sovereign and expressing his will as to human conduct.

Those who lived in a kin-organised society or observed the transition from a kin-organised to a politically organised society might not have taken the same view of the law. The phenomenon

of legal order in the transition is likely [redacted] provoke thought as to the nature of law and the basis of its binding force. There always has been a controversy as to whether men's disputes are adjusted and their claims and desires are harmonised in action by arbitrary precepts or arbitrary will, applied by those who wield the power, or rather by precepts of general application grounded on any principles of justice. This question has always occupied the minds of legal thinkers and it is really connected with the problem of a balance between the need of stability and the need of change which is a fundamental one in the legal order.

The legal order is necessarily both stable and flexible. The chief problem of the legal thinkers, therefore, has always been how to unify or reconcile stability and change, how to make the legal order appear something fixed and settled and beyond question, while at the same time allowing adaptation to the exigencies of infinite and variable human demands.

The social interest in the general security has led men to seek some fixed basis for an absolute ordering of human action whereby a firm and stable order might be assured. Yet, the continual change in the circumstances of social life demands continual adjustment to the pressure of other social interests, as well as to new modes of engendering security.

Different attempts at such reconciliation have been made at different times. Sometimes reconciliation has been sought for in terms of stability, and sometimes in terms of flexibility. Perhaps too much change directed the attention of legal thinkers to the element of stability and too much stagnation roused them to the element of flexibility.

The idea of authority occupies the mind of legal thinkers at a time when people think more of the need of stability than of change. This idea itself has made its appearance at different times in different forms. The earliest form in which it enters the arena is that of a belief in a divinely ordained or divinely dictated body of rules; whilst in its latest form it is a dogma that law is a body of commands of the sovereign power in a politically organised society, resting ultimately on whatever might be the basis of that sovereignty. In either of these forms it puts a single ultimate unchallengeable author behind the legal order, as the source of every legal precept.

The deity comes in because of the unconscious and mysterious character of the ancient formation of law and social order. A new social interest develops but people cannot trace it to any conscious initiative or activity. The mysteriousness of a new social interest, the impossibility of explaining it upon the grounds of any previous circumstances of social co-existence, leads to its ascription to super-

human promptings. It is usual to ascribe the unconscious and the imperfectly understood to superhuman forces.

Perhaps this is why we find that the Vedic Aryans, who could supply the world with the fundamental conception regulating the philosophy of law, conceived of this fundamental as something divine.

We shall indeed be sorely disappointed if we search in those ages for 'law' as distinct from 'morals'. The development of the consciousness of the social interest in the widening sphere of society coupled with the fact that further organisation was to a great extent the result of almost involuntary accommodation might have led these Vedic Aryans to conceive of an all-powerful, extended, single, indivisible force which could not be escaped by any means and which confined all the activities of man within certain limits and enforced certain modes of conduct.

Of the Vedic thinkers in this respect we can mention the following seventeen Rishis:—(1) Aghamarsana (x.190), (2) Madhucchanda (I), (3) Visvamitra (III), (4) Prajapati Paramesthin (X), (5) Vrihaspati (X), (6) Trita (X), (7) Kutsa (I.90), (8) Parasara (I), (9) Dirghatamas (I), (10) Visvakarma (X), (11) Narayana (X), (12) Vamadeva (IV), (13) Voiyasva (VIII), (14) Vasistha (VII), (15) Gautama (I), (16) Manu (VIII), and (17) Gritsamad (II).

Time would not permit me to attempt giving any detail about what we get from these Rishis. No two of them give us identically the same philosophy. Yet there is one common element in their sayings: all of them dealt with the conception of ऋत and conceived of this ऋत as the organising principle of the universe, as also the divine ordering of earthly life. Indeed these Vedic Rishis scarcely ever consider man as a whole in himself and whenever they speak of human society, they do not forget its relation to the whole universe.

This view of human society, however, did not ignore what we now call the material content of law,—law affiliated with human purpose and human benefit. ऋत as the ordering principle of earthly life is imbued with human purpose and is for human benefit: Rishis Visvakarma and Vamadeva lay emphasis on this material content of ऋत. According to these Vedic Rishis even the primal cause of this universe, the creator, God, has a *purposive existence*. Indeed these Rishis, while viewing law as of divine origin, conceive of it as the product not of divine will but of divine reason, divine *essence*. Divine will might present itself as inscrutable, as arbitrary and beyond human understanding.

If law is *voluntas dei* with them, this *voluntas dei* itself is really the same as *ratio in dio existens*: Later Hindu sages like Manu

stated the relation of law and reason in the clearest possible manner: हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तन्निबोधत (*Hrdayenābhyanujñāto yo dharmasta-mnibodhata*).

Law being the product of divine reason—divine nature and essence—is eternal and immutable and excludes all idea of arbitrariness. Human reason being only a reflection of divine reason, the latter cannot be beyond human comprehension.

Besides ऋत (*Rita*), these Vedic Rishis very often referred to स्वधा (*Svadhā*), मर्यादा (*Maryādā*), पूर्व्वी (*Purbbi*), दीर्घश्रुत (*Dirghasrut*), व्रत (*Brata*), धर्म (*Dharma*), and धाम (*Dhāma*) in relation to their conception of the nature of law.

Time would not allow me to attempt even a summary of the Vedic philosophical ideas of law. I would only refer to a few fundamental ideas in relation to their theories.

One such fundamental idea is to be found in their doctrine of relativity of knowledge. The most pronounced view on this matter is that of Prajāpati Paramesthin. This is the Rishi whose expressions excited great admiration in the mind of Pandit Max Muller. That great orientalist observed that the expression of this Rishi was "one of the happiest attempts at making language reflex the colourless abstractions of the mind"—"expressions at which language blushes, but her blush is a blush of triumph".

This Rishi preaches the doctrine of relativity of human knowledge and introduces the existence of the 'unknown' and the possibility of the 'unknowable'. This principle of the relativity of our knowledge would have a limiting effect on *action* as well as on *thought* and would supply the metaphysical basis of "duty" and ultimate guarantee of 'right.' Rishi *Visvāmitra* even went further: to the consciousness of the 'unknown' and of the 'unknowable,' he added something which is intellectually 'obscure',—which is irreducible to knowledge.

According to these Rishis the totality of 'subjective thought' could not be conceived as identical with and adequate to the totality of objective reality. The individual and introspective consciousness is not adequate to its own conditions, its own basis, its own content or its own synthesis. The common or synthetic basis of the object and the subject is hidden in darkness. As has been said above, this principle of relativity of knowledge had naturally a limiting effect on action as well as on thought. In limiting intellectual dogmatism, it limited practical dogmatism also, and restrained the egoism of one individual specially in the presence of another. The ego not being the sole consideration, the principle of abstention became more important and the idea was sufficient to necessitate the practical

4

and moral restraint of one will in the presence of other wills, of one consciousness before the consciousness of others. With this limitation in mind, in spite of ourselves we stop short before our fellow man as before an indefinable something which our science cannot fathom, which our analysis cannot measure, and which by the very fact of its being a consciousness is sacred to our own.

Justice is indeed a mutual limitation of wills and consciousnesses by *a single idea* equally limitative of all, by the idea of limitation itself which is inherent in our consciousness as limited by other consciousness.

These Vedic Rishis conceived of law as a phenomenal reality, as a natural formation, seeking for its causes in the forces that precede all development. Formation of law could not yet be connected with any social ideality. According to them, before there could be any society, before there could be any social ideality, ऋत (*Ṛita*) evolved: the ordering principle existed even before there was any diversity. Law is eternal and immutable: the conditions of life must harmonize with law, must fit in, in the natural sequence of the rise of the universe, with ऋत (*Ṛita*).

The legal thinking of this age was only an attempt at determining the nature of law—determining what law is. The thinkers of the age do not concern themselves much with what law is for—what is the end of law. No doubt any discussion on the nature of law involves the question of what law is for. But "end of law" gradually gained in importance and the subsequent philosophy of law mainly occupied itself with this end. But for a long time even this 'end of law' was considered to be to ensure society of the existing social institutions. This conscious thinking about the end of law perhaps indicates a period of struggle and strife and a consequent disturbance of order and harmony in society.

Unlike the Rig-Vedic Rishis, the sages of the Upanisads conceive of law as originating after diversity and as being created with a certain end. Of course it is still of divine origin. According to these sages the creation became full of diversities but there was nothing to hold fast these diverse elements. Indeed the aim of creation, the end of all was to ensure security of the whole. When it was felt that the creation of wisdom, might, the people and the nourisher did not suffice to secure this end, then He created still further the most excellent law: तच्छ्रेयोरूपमत्यसृजत धर्मम् (*Tacchreyorūpamatyasṛjata dharmam*). Law is the Kṣatra of the Kṣatras: therefore there is nothing higher than the law: this creation of law helped the complete realization of the end: अथो अबलीयान् बलीयांसमाशंसते धर्मेण (*Atho abalīyān balīyāṁsamāśaṁsate dharmeṇa*), thenceforth even a weak man rules a stronger with

the help of the law: Even this law is immutable: तं देवाश्चक्रिरे धर्मं स एवाद्य स उ श्वः (*Tandevāścakrire dharmaṁ sa evādya sa uśvaḥ*) whatever was determined then is also the law for the future: The Upanishads indeed contain the doctrines of various philosophers of the age such as Uddālak, Ajātsatru, Varuna, Atharvana, Pratardana, Śāndilya, Jabāla, Jaivāli, Gargyana, Mahidāsa and Yājnavalkya. Law, as yet, was not considered to be "for the strong too weak, for the weak too strong."

I have refrained from bringing before you any legal provision of these ancient days. It will indeed be an interesting study to examine such provisions. But time does not permit me to bring in this interesting subject for your discussion. I would only give you here one somewhat amusing instance from another equally ancient system of a provision in its penal law which perhaps will indicate that the lawgiver there viewed the matter from the sociological standpoint and put to practice the view that the wrong-doer is not alone in his guilt; that the entire community, because of its tolerance of bad government and faulty educational practice, is also guilty.

The instance is taken from the Chinese System:

"A man named Chaong 'An-Ching, aided by his wife Chaong Wongshee, flogged his mother. Upon the circumstances being made known to Tungchee, in whose reign the crime was perpetrated, an imperial order was issued, to the effect:—

(1) that the offenders should be flayed alive, that their bodies should then be cast into a furnace and their bones, gathered from the ashes and reduced to a powder, should be scattered to the winds;

(2) that the head of the clan to which the two offenders belonged, should be put to death by strangulation;

(3) that the neighbours living on the right and left of the offenders, should, for their silence and non-interference, each receive a flogging of eighty blows and be sent into exile;

(4) that the head or representative of the graduates of the first degree (B.A.) among whom the male offender ranked should receive a flogging of eighty blows and be exiled to a place one thousand li distant from his home;

(5) that the grand uncle of the male offender should be beheaded;

(6) that his uncle and his two elder brothers should be put to death by strangulation;

(7) that the prefect and the ruler of the district in which

the offenders resided, should for a time be deprived of their rank;

(8) that on the face of the mother of the female offender four Chinese characters expressive of neglect of duty towards her daughter should be tatooed, and that she should be exiled to a province, the seventh in point of distance from that in which she was born;

(9) that the father of the female offender, a bachelor of arts, should not be allowed to take any higher literary degrees, that he should receive flogging of eighty blows, and be exiled to a place three thousand li from that in which he was born;

(10) that the mother of the male offender should be made to witness the flogging of her son, but should be allowed to receive daily for sustenance a measure of rice from the Provincial treasurer;

(11) that the son of the offenders (a child) should be placed under the care of the district ruler, and receive another name; and

(12) lastly the land of the offender should for a time lie fallow.

In India, a kingly system of penal justice was added to the Prāyaśchitta System which at first had a wide extension. In the kingly system the measure of punishment was to bear proportion to the delinquency—[illegible] (*Teṣu adharmapareṣu daṇḍeṣu deśa kāladharmādharma bayo bidyāsthāna biśeṣairdiśet*). Punishment must be awarded after due consideration of place, time, age, learning of the parties and magnitude of the injury. With their usual Eudemonistic doctrines they elevated punishment itself from the position of a mere vulgar threat to that of a sublime purifier. Punishment was necessary not to satisfy the animal avenging spirit, not to threaten the future probable offenders, not even to correct the offender; it was necessary for the welfare of the offender himself; its essence lay in its utility to the offender himself in his whole existence.

The account of how the legal thinking developed in India later will be a long story, and as soon as we reach beyond the Vedic age it is no longer the dawn.

R. B. PAL.

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

A new-comer to this land is at once impressed with the size and diversity of the sub-continent called India. He is struck with the varieties of dress and costume which catch his eye; by the number of tongues his ear detects; and, on looking deeper, into the diversity of race and caste. He is amazed when he is assured that the Linguistic Survey has recorded at least 170 distinct languages, not to speak of some 544 dialects.

At first, perhaps, this diversity and complexity may bewilder him, and the whole set-up be dismissed as hopeless and beyond understanding. No serious study is made, and he leaves India no wiser than when he came. But there are deep unifying forces in India, and as one lives in the country, learns a language, gets to know its peoples, there is born a deep and real love for it all—there is a feeling of oneness and self-identification. Here in Calcutta, one has an excellent opportunity to observe people of many Indian races and cultures. The Bengali, of course, predominates, but there are others recognized by the seeing eye: the fair Aryan; the dark Dravidian, and the broad-nosed aboriginal: Hindustanis, Panjabis, Sikhs, Mahrattas, Rajputs, Tamils, Oraons, Santhals, Oriyas, Assamese, Nepalese and so on. From whom are these varied and interesting people descended? Whence did these distinct types originate?

It must be said that students of Ethnology have various theories concerning the racial composition of present-day India. There is still much uncertainty and no dogmatic assertion is justified. Nevertheless, I would like to bring to you, in these few swift minutes, a composite picture of what at the present stage seems to be at the back of the people of India. Of course, speculation has entered in, and the mind of man has tried to piece together a story lived long before there was a written word. The recovery of artifacts of various kinds and some skeletal remains has helped in the formation of theories concerning the ethnic composition of present-day India. To this the modern development of anthropometry and blood grouping have been added and used to check up on theories advanced. Geography, climate and flora have played an important part in the story; and the movements of race and tribe have been guided by these and other factors.

The story now unfolded before us, goes back to the dim and distant past, millenniums before the famous Aryan invasion of India:

1. The first inhabitants of India are thought to have been a Negroid people akin to the Negritos of to-day. At present this strain in India is largely submerged, but definitely exists in the Andaman Islands and in some

parts of the Malay Peninsula. They are a black, short-statured race, with frizzly hair and a broad nose. The presence of Negrito characteristics has been definitely established in Assam, in Bihar, and among the tribes of South India. Just where they came from, how long they persisted before they were displaced, is not definitely established.

2. In the course of time another race of people became dominant in India. Guha has called them Proto-Australoids. They apparently displaced the Negritos and probably absorbed some of the blood. The Proto-Australoids of India show marked resemblances to the Veddas of Ceylon and to the aborigines of Australia. Practically the whole of the Central Indian and South Indian tribes, though speaking different tongues, belong to this group. If anything, this group may be called the true autochtones of the Indian Peninsula.

   To-day the same racial stratum persists, though probably modified by contacts with other groups, in the Oraons, Santhals, Mundas and Kherias of Bihar; in the Kols, Bhils, Gonds, Korkus, Baigas, etc., of Central India; in upper India among some of the lower castes such as the Chamars and Doms; and in South India in the Chenchus, Kurumbas and Yeruvas. Many of these tribal people are finding a place in the war effort of today. They are generally dark in complexion, medium in stature, and have a very broad nose. The head is generally long, or dolichocephalic, although in Bihar it tends towards the Mesocephalic type.

3. The next racial stream which poured into India is characterized by a long head and a medium nose. The skin colour varies from rich to dark tawny brown, and the eye is always black. Dr. Guha calls this "The Basic Dolichocephalic type." He has avoided the use of the term "Dravidian," as that word has often been used with another connotation. In general, however, the so-called Dravidian people of South India belong to this type. It is the main type found in South India and also seems to exist among the lower classes in North India.

   This race seems to have had a wide distribution on the earth in pre-historic times. Skulls, very similar in type, are found in pre-Dynastic graves in Upper Egypt. With their knowledge of bronze and iron they were able to conquer the older Proto-Australoid races in South

India. It may be, that in their entry into India through the Northwest, they by-passed the jungle lands of Central India, leaving the Proto-Australoids of that region largely unaffected, but practically displacing them in the south.

South Indian groups of to-day which probably belong to this main type are the Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam peoples.

4. The most famous racial movement into Hindusthan seems to have been that connected with the coming of the Aryans into India.

Before their coming, however, Anthropologists have found evidences of other types in the ruins of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa in the North-West. It appears that these are affiliated with the Mediterranean race of Southern Europe, and that one of these types, at least, survives in the Panjabi people of today. This may be called the Indus Type.

5. There also seems to have been another racial movement into India preceeding the Aryans. It was a non-Mongolian, Brachycephalic race. This group gave India its round-heads. In Europe it is called the Alpine type. This influx apparently came through the N. W. passes, or, as some believe, by sea, and largely entered into the racial composition of Western India. The head is broad campared to its length, although there are exceptions due to racial intermixtures.

Its effects may be seen today in the Gujarat and Kanarese country on the West and, strangely, in Bengal on the East. It also occurs very largely in the Marathi country, south of Gujarat and along the coast.

At the present time the people of India belonging to this group, though more or less mixed with other groups, are the Gujaratis, Marathis, Kanarese and Bengalis.

6. So at last we come to the Aryan invasion which brings into India the Proto-Nordic type. Guha says of it: "The racial invasion which has, however, caused the most profound change in shaping the culture and history of India is the one associated with the advent of the Vedic Aryans somewhere in the second millenium B.C."

Today this type is dominant nowhere in India, but exists in its purest forms in N. W. India. Sprinklings of this race may be found all through northern and western

India and Bengal. The Pathans, Kaffirs and other groups whose eyes are grey or grey-blue probably should be classed with this group. Its characteristics also occur in the higher castes of the U.P.

The Rajputs and Jats belong to a similar strain, but one which came into India later than the Proto-Aryans.

7. In North India there is another intruding element which Fischer has called the "Oriental". "In this" it is said, "the skin colour is fair but the eyes and the hair are black and the nose is markedly long and aquiline." Its effects are strongly felt in the mountains in the N.W., but it is not found much on the plains, except in the Panjab. It exists among the higher classes of Muslims in Upper India.

8. Then, of course, there are Mongoloid influences in India. This may be noticed in Calcutta among the numerous kinds of hill people who come here for employment.

This movement did not apparently affect India save in the Sub-Himalaya region, in Assam, and in the lands adjoining the Eastern frontier and Burma. You will note the typical Mongoloid Nagas, Lushais, Khasis, Kukis, Bodos, etc.

9. Naturally other minor drifts came in by land and by sea: the coming of the Mohammedan rulers to India brought its immigrants resembling the Aryans more than anyone else, and they have contributed to the general mixture of races found in Northern India.

These then are the main types which make up the people of India today: (1) Negrito, (2) Proto-Australoid, (3) Dravidian, (4) Indus Types, (5) Roundheads (Western type), (6) Aryan, (7) Oriental and (8) Mongoloids.

It is probably impossible to accurately evaluate the contribution of each. There is no pure zone. Types overlap and there has been much intermixing.

Language, also, is no sure clue today, for there are, for example, non-Dravidians speaking the Dravidian language and the Proto-Astraloid has practically abandoned his tribal language in wide areas. Much remains to be investigated.

Nevertheless, I would urge you to learn more about India. While you are here carry away some solid observation and enquiry. In the future you may be able to use it as a basis on which you may make some real contribution to the knowledge and understanding of mankind.

W. G. Griffiths.

ART IN GANDHARA*

The Gandhara School of sculpture has today come to be regarded as the easternmost achievement of the Græco-Roman plastic genius, but working in the interests of Buddhism. We have become accustomed to hearing this school referred to most often as the Græco-Buddhist school. This is a term however that has undergone a good deal of revision in recent years, as I trust will be clearly revealed in the course of these remarks. It would in fact be more exact, in view of recent knowledge at our disposal, to refer to this school as the Romano-Buddhist, since the main emphasis remains on Rome, and only inheriting through Athens. One thing about this school today remains very evident and that is the great complacency of attitude towards it, due to the fact that everything about it is supposed to be so well understood. There is no valid reason to institute further lines of enquiry. This is however far from being the case, as the points raised in the subsequent remarks I hope will make quite clear.

To begin with however we may say that the art of Gandhara had achieved a high peak of excellence by the end of the first century A.D., and that the duration of the school's rise and development followed by sudden disastrous collapse was some six centuries.

One very important and significant factor has in the last few decades emerged about this school, and it is this: we are now compelled to recognize not one but *two* records of achievement. The first of these we shall henceforth for the benefit of these remarks refer to as Gandhara I. This will almost exclusively yield examples in the blue-schist stone so peculiarly the material used in the sculptures of Gandhara. The second school, henceforth to be referred to as Gandhara II, we shall find adopt *stucco* as the material for their plastic output. I am aware that it is appropriate

* The original form of this essay was a lecture delivered before *The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, on the 11th of November, 1943. For the purpose of the present record it has undergone some revision and has been carefully collated with the latest available data. In this connection I have particularly to thank Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, Director-General of Archeology, under whose hospitable auspices during a short stay at Taxila in the last few days of December, 1944 I was able in consultation with members of his staff to decide a few doubtful points at issue and compare notes on others. Ultimate findings however in all cases, unless where otherwise stated, remain my own, and for them I must accept full responsibility.

before passing to my main thesis to say something, for benefit of the less initiated, concerning the term Gandhara. This has come to refer to an ancient territory of that name, territory well-known today as the Kabul and Swat valleys, along with the Eastern and Western Punjab. The southernmost limits of its influence would stretch so far as to include Sialkot (ancient Sagala), and north-west would include the provinces of Sindh and Baluchistan. Under the emperor Asoka (c. 274 B.C.—231 B.C.) Gandhara had become a Buddhist Holy Land for the reason that there had risen up three of the great stupas, or relic-mausoleums identified with the gifts of the Buddha's body: the Body Gift; the Flesh Gift; and the Eye Gift.

The remarkable art impulse now under review was occasioned by the need for the pious to have visual translation of their most reverent and devout ideas of worship. It thus came about that the sacred stupas, and attendant edifices, grew to be embellished with statues of the Buddhist hierarchy, and with scenes from the Buddha's life, and above all with statues of himself.

The Buddha Image

The date of the creation of the Buddha image has occasioned in the past a great deal of vexed debate among learned scholars. It has now however been generally accepted that we may assign somewhere in the 1st century B.C. as the most credible date. Up to this time it had been considered too profane to represent the Enlightened One in visual terms. But Mahāyāna Buddhism, or Buddhism of the Greater, or Widened Vehicle, triumphs in the North, and it would appear some Greek, or Indo-Greek, was called upon whose powers were considered sufficiently capable as to lend visual substance to the sacred figure and lineaments of the Enlightened One. The Yavanas (Greeks) had gained quite a unique reputation with the truly amazing coin-portraiture of their satraps in Bactria for unquestioned verisimilitude. The quality of coinage from their mints throughout Northern India enjoyed unrivalled prestige.[1]

May it not be permissable to assume that from such colonies of artists as must have existed for their maintenance some were found ready to turn their talent in another, and no doubt even more profitable direction, since their patronage would be greatly extended by the inclusion of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, a hierarchy

[1] See the Greeks in Bactria and India, W. W. Tarn, p. 458.

doubly zealous in the cause of the newly won Mahayanistic canon? There is however much conflicting opinion on this point, one authority pointing out how conspicuous is the absence of evidence to proclaim that the Greeks produced any art objects for themselves.[2] I think perhaps in the light of this terra-cotta exhibit here produced for the first time this might reasonably undergo modification. (F. 1).

When this was first shown to an enthusiastic archeological friend he pronounced it as a Bodhisattva in the guise of an Indian rajah. On ethnological grounds alone the evidence however seemed strongly pointed against any such conclusion. Where have we seen the prototype of just such features and coiffure as is here? Perhaps this illustration of our old friend the Apollo Belvedere will help us to determine. (F. 2).

Let us now compare the two side by side. It is possible to agree that the general facial resemblance is very strong only less fleshy, more refined in the terra-cotta. But what is undeniably similar is the mode of coiffure: the crowning above the hair by two strands in a kind of pleat with horizontal ends forming a kind of whorled bar across the head. There is a fine Artemis in the British Museum with similar coiffure. Far more conventionalised we meet with a similar hair-pleat in the coiffures of some Maitreyas (Buddhas to come). In the instance of the Apollo Belvedere it is perhaps the most identifying features. Here in the terra-cotta it is also plainly evident, though the whorls have been almost smoothed out of recognition. If we are able to claim a close kinship between these two heads is it not permissable to assume that we have evidence here of the presence of an art object made by a Greek for Greeks which our authority just quoted finds lacking on Indian soil? It is credible to assume that this object was actually a household icon as it has a recess at the back to allow of wall-suspension. Another question however arises before our doubts can be set at rest. Is this an imported or a local object? Chemical analysis of the clay can yield the only satisfactory answer. I am however disinclined to countenance an importation theory as if this object was produced beyond the borders of India. Would then the need have arisen to introduce the oriental accessories like the palm-fronds and the double-lotus? The piece consists of two separate parts, as the head is attached to an ornamental plaque the floral motif of which I have so far been unable to trace stylistically. The provenance of this discovery is

[2] Hellenism in North-West India. Col. D. H. Gordon. J. R. A. S. B. Vol. X, No. I, p. 4.

of some interest as its approximate locality is one of the "Hastnagar villages" of the Charsadda Tehsil. Charsadda was the Peukelaotis of the Greeks, or to give it its Indian nomenclature, Pushkalavati, "city of lotuses." Of all the cities of the plain of the North West Peukelaotis and not Purushapura (Peshawar) was the most decidedly Greek, and in due course became the Greek capital of Gandhara.[1]

At the present moment this is all that may be said concerning this terra-cotta find. One word may perhaps be said on its æsthetics: it is far more individual and less idealistic, less according to a type than the Apollo Belvedere, which is of course a late Roman copy of a lost Greek original. This individualism may possibly be taken as further contributory evidence of its Indo-Greek origin, as the Bactrian coinage set beside the Athenian affords the same contrast of the individualistic over the idealistic. Of the importance of the find in piecing together the fragmentary art-history of Gandhara there can be no question, and in the result it is permissible to assume that we have here at last evidence that the Greek artists were not coin-iconographers alone.[2]

Assuming now that the Greek iconographers were busy producing Greek Apollos what would likely to be the result if they were suddenly invited to produce a Buddha-Apollo? Most authorities are agreed that some such invitation was undoubtedly extended by the Buddhist ecclesiasts. A glance at comparative religion provides the most likely answer. Early Christianity had based its iconography upon the models provided by the Greek pantheon. The situation is paralleled in the case of Buddhism, thus the Buddha becomes an Apollo with symbols of course sacred to the Buddha. Our authority previously quoted is strongly inclined to doubt this possiblity and is instative that the Apollo type of Gandhara—"bears no real resemblance to any Apollo produced in Greece......there is nothing particularly Apollo-like about it if one were to set it beside the Apollo Belvedere."[3] So our old friend has again turned up. Let us now however turn to this blue-schist head of Maitreya (the Buddha to come). (F. 3).

[1] See Tarn, op. cit. pp. 138, 244.

[2] In this connection Mr. Waliullah of the Archæological Department has just drawn my attention to another terra-cotta from Bala-Hissar portraying an Apollo riding on a swan. It is of the later effeminate type much in vogue in Asia Minor. The mould is in the Peshawar Museum, and I have myself inspected the photograph at Taxila. This lends additional support to the existing evidence of the first terra-cotta that some Greek deities were modelled on Indian soil by Indo-Bactrian iconographers.

[3] Gordon, op. cit. p. 8.

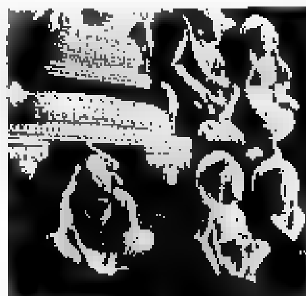
PLATE I

1

2

3

4

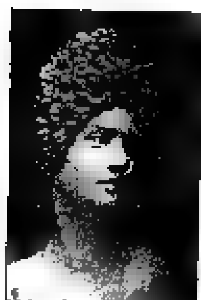


5

6

7

8



9

10

11

12

Should we not be safe in saying that the casual beholder on seeing this for the first time would be much more likely to ascribe it to somewhere in Greece or Magna Graecia rather than to the soil of North-West India? Remove the top-knot, open the eyes, and do we not have a quite presentable Adonis or Apollo? The eyes of course betray it as un-Greek. They brood upon things that are not of earth but upon bonds celestial. But lift once those lids and we have features surely that for classic purity would be no discredit to the ateliers of Augustan Rome whose sculptured portraiture entirely subordinates the individual to the type and sentimentalises it. This head is however extremely effeminate. It is therefore perhaps not to Rome but to Alexandria that we should turn our attention for possible connection for there under the rococo lead of Arcesilaus during the second part of the first century B.C. a most effeminate school was in vogue.[1] This appears to be the conviction of Monsieur Grousset in that most delightful of books, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*, when he says: "the union of the religion of Sakyamuni with Alexandrian art had created the Graeco-Buddhist civilization."

The birth of the Buddha image was the signal we may believe for a multitude of images to see the light. Now a whole hierarchy of the Buddhist pantheon, a host of Bodhisattvas, or candidates for enlightenment, find an honoured place beside the Buddha.

The head of the Buddha-Apollo, as we have just seen, is distinguished by the skull protuberance around which the hair is conventionally coiled and waved. But in the case of the Bodhisatta-Apollo we find him transformed into a realistic young prince clad in the costume of the Punjabi nobles of Kushan times. He has a rich puffed turban adorned with jewels, if it be the figure of Prince Siddhartha, and the top-knot, or *usnisa*, if it is of the Buddha Maitreya. The most Indianised of all the Bodhisattvas is the magnificent Shahbazgarhi Bodhisattva of the Louvre acquired by Monsieur Foucher in the last century. Here in this splendidly noble figure we have the proud face of a true Raja—with the moustache, turban, nude torso, necklace, and bracelets. (F. 4).

Art Interpretation of Buddhist Gospels

But are we to assume that the people of Gandhara were now content having thus seen the most holy personages of their religious beliefs set up in this manner before their eyes; were they now

[1] See, Fluctuations of Forms of Art, P.A. Sorokin, Vol. I, p. 600.

satisfied with this noble enrichment of their religious life? By no means! The propagation of the gospel of Sakyamuni was to be yet more movingly brought before the pious Gandharians. In the later phases of the school we may believe the artists found themselves commissioned, probably under zealous Kushan stimulus, to reveal through innumerable stone panels the life-story and miracles of the Blessed One, together with the *Jatakas*, those legends of the five hundred and fifty previous existences of the Blessed One. In the supreme examples, for any like European parallel, we must turn to mediæval Italy, to the stories of the Christus and his beloved saints, like blessed Francis of the birds.

But now in Gandhara it can well be understood how no sacred edifice would be considered sufficiently endowed unless it was made possible to have its architectural features embellished by these touching and moving episodes from the legends of the Blessed One. Glorious indeed would now be the reward of the devotees as they might wander forth from the inner shrines out into the sunlit courtyards of the monasteries, and out once again into the full blaze of the noon-tide sky to the sites of the great *stupas*. There a truly gorgeous reward would meet the eye as the variegated and brilliantly gilded *stupas* towered aloft against a sky of intensest blue. How poor are our galleries today in their capacity to convey anything of this astonishing polychrome effect, so familiar a sight to the inhabitants of Gandhara: the joyous worshippers of Sakyamuni. In this respect the stucco remains of Gandhara II convey more to us than the schist, as enough of the polychrome effect frequently adheres to glimpse their original beauty. The schist was also treated, as we can find on many pieces traces of their original gilding. For the rest all trace of their original appeal has vanished and we are left only with the plain dark blue stone. But even so the richness of plastic appeal is singularly pleasing in its schematic rendering. Here is just one example from the miracle of Sravasti. (P. 5). It is unfortunately a fragment and the Blessed One himself is missing. The full panel would have revealed him seated amidst meditating Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Here only the attendant figures remain, a meditating Buddha, and Bodhisattvas seated upon lotus thrones. Here indeed is a celestial afternoon of delight, where parrots, in between their amorous chatter, preen themselves upon the little kiosk's ornate roof above the head of the meditating Buddha; for from this enchanted zone even the humblest of God's creatures cannot be excluded. Thus we find the appeal of the Gandhara bas-reliefs as intensely human, moving, and elemental. In this sense the art of Gandhara parallels with the many centuries later development of Rajput painting with

its popular and ever moving appeal derived from the countless stories surrounding the divinity of Krishna, the Divine Cowherd.

Decline of Gandhara I

Within recent years there have been startling theories advanced regarding the later phases of the Gandharan school. A clearly apparent exhaustion has come about resulting in a wooden and stereotyped formula, wherein all vitality seems lacking and the element of what the Greeks had understood as the "Divine Proportion" appears suspended if not totally forgotten. The result is a crude, spiritless, stereotyped effect, and an art hitherto supple and free enough without transcending the classical formula imposed, has grown frozen, heavy, and squat. One authority wishes to go so far as to reverse the accepted verdict of Monsieur Foucher, and those who have come afterwards have given a fourth century dating for this state of affairs. He would insist that on the contrary this deterioration is really evidence of the early archaistic gropings of the Gandhara school and that they "join on immediately and organically to the early sculpture of the plains of India."[2] He finds in numerous Gandhara stone sculptures affinities with the archaic art of Barhut and Sanchi. Our authority would therefore date these lifeless pieces as belonging to the middle first century B.C., that is at about the time when the Greek invaders were expelled from their Indian possessions. Surely this is not merely to run counter to all that has been written on the art of Gandhara since Monsieur Foucher, including the findings of Monsieur Grousset but it is also to ignore the precise conditions prevailing under the Hellenic regime of North-West India, both under the satraps and under the Kushans. I think it would be entirely wrong to regard these intrusions, as our authority observes, as merely "superficial foreign elements. To accept such a conclusion is to ignore history, and to ignore the recent findings of that eminent scholar W. W. Tarn, whose book, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, despite whatever objections some have been busy to discover, yet remains a most remarkable, and one cannot help but feel, vital contribution to the clearing up of what was previously an exceedingly halting and ambiguous page of history. In the light of all the additional research during the last two decades it appears quite plain that in any investigation of Gandharan art, even from its inception, the windows of our scrutiny should open out not upon Pataliputra but upon

[1] Buddhist Baroque in Kashmir, C. L. Fabri, Asia, October 1939.

Alexandria and the Middle East and its far-flung impact, whose epicentre of inspirations is Rome. A glance at comparative art history would show our authority that the identical signs of exhaustion which he attributes to archaism in Gandharan art are to be met with in the sculpture of Rome under Diocletian (284-305 A.D.) and Constantine (324-337 A.D.), where squat, crude, uninspired figures, become the order of the day. This too would support M. Foucher's dating of the fourth century A.D. for the Gandharan decline. The Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhara is a provincial school of Græco-Roman art, and the general evolution of this art stretches from the age of Augustus down to the Tetrarchy is the considered opinion of M. Grousset. Can any reasonable scrutiny of the inherent stylistic qualities of Gandharan art possibly support a view so contrary as our authority's to all the existing evidence available? We think not!

The Art of Gandhara II

As we approach our scrutiny of Gandhara II one thing is immediately evident, namely, that whereas in its final phase we have found in the art of Gandhara I a mass-production effect, uninspired, mechanical, where patronage and taste and craft seem all to have suffered an eclipse, Gandhara II now emerges with a startling effect of freedom and verve, a profound and vigorous originality, a splendid élan. Gandhara I and II now find a remarkable divergence, a living organism beside one played out and lifeless. How to account for this? The answer is that over the mountains, through the gateway of the Khyber, a renaissance had been achieved with its epi-centre at Kabul, ancient Kabura. The medium almost exclusively used for this re-birth in plastic expression is stucco. The choice of stucco was possibly due to a largely increased demand for sculptures afforded by the enthusiasm of the Kushan monarchs in the cause of Buddhism. The sacred places could be decked and embellished in a fraction of the time laborious stone carving would take. The contrast between the school of Taxila and the school of Kabul in stucco is as startling as between the stucco and the schist of Gandhara I. The stuccos in the Taxila museum afford a quite limited range of examples, and a great many are lifeless and uninspired. In all one could pick out perhaps the bare baker's dozen for exceptional illustration. It is very doubtful if further excavation will yield up more. The large panel subjects which have been set up again in the Museum *in situ* are however extremely interesting, especially one with aerial Bodhisattvas floating about

the head of the Buddha and are reminiscent of our later European baroque religious compositions. Yet on the whole the Taxila stucco examples fail to astonish or send us away to treasure memories of really remarkable achievement. For this we must turn to the finds recently made by the French Archeological Mission to Afghanistan at Hadda, near Jalalabad. These finds therefore belong to the area taking its directional culture control from Kabul, ancient Kabura. It is no exaggeration to say that these finds have shed a new and startling light upon the plastic art of North-West India and represent a new art chapter. Here is how M. Grousset refers to the significance of these finds. He says: "While in its native country the tradition of Hellas froze into the art ages of Diocletian and Constantine, at Hadda (in Afghanistan) Alexandrian, Ephesian, and Pergamene Greece, and the Greece of Antioch continued to live on, revivified by the Buddhist influence grafted on to them. On Buddhist soil Greece remained Greece, while in Christian countries it was becoming Byzantine. If, as Monsieur Hackin thinks, the stucco figures from Hadda date for the most part from the period of the third to the fifth centuries, is it not permissible to state that the Hellenic genius, as a creative force and principle of renewal, took refuge and survived at Kabul? Side by side with the everlasting Buddhas of the Apollo type we are surprised to find among the representations of the subsidiary divinities, such as Vajrapani, *yakshas*, barbarians and demons, figures of a rich intensity of feeling and a powerful realism which was curiously unexpected."[1]

Kabul the Epicentre of a New Hellas

The inference is here clear, namely that Kabul has become the epi-centre of a new Hellas. But surely, some will doubtless exclaim, this is to romanticize too much! And so indeed it seemed to the present writer, until on a red-letter day, September 20th, 1937, to be exact, at the invitation of Monsieur Hackin he was driven over to the French Legation at Kabul to spend one of the most intriguing hours ever spent. There Monsieur Hackin drew out from their envelopes a delightfully exciting series of photographs relating to the activities of the *Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan* at the ruins of the great city of Kapisa near Begram. The photographs for the most part consisted of Indian ivories, but what was by far the most delightful and exciting item were those showing various types, forms, and technique, some painted, of Syrian glass.

[1] The Civilisation of India, Rene Grousset, pp. 122-4.

They were extraordinarily reminiscent of the recent craze at home for novel shapes in plastic glass. But these greatly excelled them for sheer beauty and novelty. Could they possibly be of local manufacture? But all doubts were set at rest when M. Hackin revealed that these objects were actually art products of Syria, indeed had been exported from the great cities, Sidon in particular, where a plastic glass tradition had endured from early times. These specimens would have reached India by way of the caravan route which passed by Palmyra and the Euphrates, thence through Persia to Afghanistan. Here then was direct evidence of that flourishing trade with the greater Rome which had been set up under the Kushans. But here too was the key to the riddle of the stuccos, the heads of women who appeared to have sat for the attention of the coiffurist in the same seats as the luxurious dames of Alexandria, Sidon, Antioch, or Palmyra. The photographs had convincingly swept away the veil obscuring the problem arising out of the presence of fashions from the Roman world appearing so plentifully in the sculptures of the Kabul valley. Here was the truth revealed after some seventeen centuries of time. This it had been the privilege of the present writer to have revealed to him in that pleasant little sun-lit room, its dainty feminine charm decked out with brilliant Moroccan wall fabrics, the temporary abode of the Hackins in the Kabul Legation. The inference was thus made further plain, namely, that this remote, hemmed-in Kabul valley so cut off from the outside world as today it seems, far from practising any form—to make use of a current term—"isolationism," practised the very reverse. Rather back in those remote times it had practised a vigorous cosmopolitanism. The spell of Rome indeed appears so great that on one of the most remarkable coins of Havishka's reign we find the figure of Roma on the reverse.[1] Many speculations must needs arise about this Romano-Buddhist community of the Kabul valley. Is it possible that there was a colony of Roman artists? No positive answer can be made, but here is an exhibit makes the question even more intriguing. (F. 6). Here is a most realistic head surmounted by the veritable symbols of Bacchus himself, vine-leaves and grapes. In style it links up with the Gaulish types with drooping moustache met with so frequently in the Hadda finds though the provenance of this piece is uncertain. Some have suggested that it is a head of Panchika, the god of wealth in the Buddhist pantheon. Compared however with the illustration of this god and his consort Hariti of the

[1] The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, Percy Gardner, Pl. 28. 10. P. 149.

Peshawar Museum handbook there do not appear any convincing points of similarity. And why, if the god of riches, should the symbols of vine-leaf and grape be introduced? Here we have an example of highly individualised art which in Roman art would parallel with the Flavian epoch where the 'photographic-visual' is in strong antagonism to the pseudo-idealistic visualism of the Augustan ateliers. With the evidence just laid before us of the closest Syrian contacts is it permissible to assume that Roman objects made for Romans, as previously paralleled in the case of the Greek Apollo, were made on Indian soil by Romans or Indo-Romans? The answer is not yet. But this much is certain Roman artists were in demand, or at any rate Roman-Eurasians, as evidenced by the discovery of Sir Aurel Stein in the ruins of the Miran site where the Vessantara Jataka was found to have been painted by an artist named Tita, which is easily recognisable as a Sanskrit or Prakrit rendering of the Roman name Titus.[1] Suffice that this head of a Bacchus, or one of his sout for he has pointed ears, observes the most naturalistic treatment so far discovered by the writer in the Gandharan school. The eye-pupils are sunk, while the wrinkled skin at the eye-corners has received the attentions of the chisel after leaving the mould.

Let us now turn to other heads which afford further illustration of Gandhar II's seeming subjection to fashions and art ideals of the Roman Orient. Here is a small stucco (F. 7) which has fascinated everyone who has seen it, it is so alive. The lady toys coquettishly with her hair, her elaborately coiffured head-dress surmounted by what would appear as a two pronged comb plunged in to the hilt which projects in a half-moon above, is strongly reminiscent of modish Spanish ladies of our time. Here she appears before us with a kind of snapshot realism and fidelity that leaves all Tanagra figures somewhat insipid by comparison. A member, doubtless, of the *hetaera* class, but within the minute dimensions of this little masterpiece, it only measures generally the expression conveyed to us of a personage of most accomplished and calculated aplomb. Here is no piece of counterfeit art, but something that has been realised intensely, and within the limits of its minute confines worked out objectively as pure perception.

Our second exhibit (F. 8) among coiffured ladies brings again a veritable portrait before us whose coiled ringlets are so deeply incised as clearly to suggest drilling after leaving the mould. It is of singularly hard stucco, while its provenance I have reason to believe was Swat, the Udaiana of Gandharan times. Again if we

[1] On Ancient Central Asian Tracks, Sir Aurel Stein, pp. 106-127.

would seek comparisons we must turn to Roman art. Elaborate curled coiffures was a constant subject with Flavian artists where the piled up ringlets frame the face as within a niche. To obtain the requisite effect necessitated deep undercutting and drilling as here in this lady from the Flavian epoch (F. 9).

Within the scope of these present observations I am unable to illustrate all the infinite variety of subject and technique displayed by the ateliers of Gandhara II in such strong contrast to the plastic limitations of Gandhara I.

Technique and Diversity of Types in the Hadda Sculptures

A word as to the precise technique employed in the Hadda sculptures seems desirable. It must not however be understood as peculiar to Hadda, but rather as a technique adopted universally wherever stucco is employed for embellishment of the sacred edifices. Monsieur Barthoux, in his introduction to *Les Fouilles de Hadda* puts it admirably thus "These little masterpieces betray most frequently a great rapidity of execution, a haste which is the logical result of a familiar technique, a certainty of Handling, a talent which is really remarkable."[2] A summary of the formula maintained for the painting of these figurines is simple in extreme. Eyebrows, pupil, and moustache are painted in black; the hair is halted just at the junction of the head with the wall; depressions of the ears, as also where the ears join the head, are tinted in red. In all cases the purpose of the red tints is to force the appearance of relief. As we may care to examine any one of these heads or figurines we find the above formula is consistent; wherever there is a major depression, there we shall find the red line whose sole purpose is to emphasise the relief of the prominences.

Another most fascinating thing in Gandhara II is the range and diversity of personages represented in the sculptures. In the front rank we find of course the Buddhas and the monks; in the second the Bodhisattvas, along with various spirits and divinities; thirdly, we find represented the diverse personages met with in the scenes from the life of the Buddha, such as faithful laics, donors, ascetics, and soldiers. The fourth category appears to be reserved for the evil spirits and *yakshas*. Here the artists find occasion for remarkable latitude and indulgence of fancy affording vigorous expression in the *macabre* and the grotesque as in the instance of this *yaksha*

[2] Les Fouilles de Hadda, J. J. Barthoux, III. G. Van Oest. Paris.

gloating gleefully over a human head he tightly clutches in his hands (F. 10). He is doubtless intended for one of the evil host of Mara the tempter of Gautama. But at the other extreme we can be confronted with a madonna-like type as here (F. 11).

The Element of Buddhist-Gothic

This combination of such divergent elements as the angelic and the grotesque has induced such authorities as Messrs. Grousset and Hackin to suggest the name Buddhist-Gothic to describe it. That it is a phrase singularly apt no one who cares to give even a passing glance at the numerous intriguing illustrations which make up Vol. III of *Les Fouilles de Hadda* can possibly deny. Many of the originals of that series of remarkable photographs now adorn the cabinets of the Musée Guimet where one morning the present writer was privileged to inspect them in a conducted tour by Monsieur Grousset. There we shall find them—"bearded heads of divinities recalling the fine figure of God at Amiens, or the saint on the south-west portal at Reims; there are demons in scenes of the Assault of Mara which no longer have any affinity with Greek art, but are akin to the devils—whether decorative heads, caryatids, or gargoyles—of Reims, Amiens, and Notre-Dame, Paris. There is a tiny terracotta head here, with a smile like that of the angels of Reims, spiritual, penetrating, and acute."[1]

Significance of Romanesque and Gothic Formula in Gandhara II

We had referred, it may be remembered, at the beginning of these remarks, to the sudden collapse of the art of Gandhara, synchronising with the disappearance of its highly matured civilization. This was brought about by one of those cata-clysmic events known to history as the Invasion of the White Huns, or Hunas, as they were referred to in the chronicles, in the last decades of the fifth century. Under their ruthless, but capable leader, Mihirakula, after passing through Persia, they took in their stride the petty Kushan and Saka kingdoms of Gandhara, and poured into India. From this invasion, together with the iconoclastic zeal of Mihirakula, a whole epoch was closed, and this at a time, when as we have seen, the art of Gandhara was inventing the very formulas, the Romanesque and Gothic, to which the Græco-Roman art of

[1] Grousset, op. cit. p. 124.

the West was to find its way only after the lapse of several centuries. Monsieur Grousset has eloquently and very simply elaborated the significance of this phenomenon. As it deserves our fullest attention I quote in full:

> "Given, both in the West and at Gandhara, the purely formal conventions of Greco-Roman art as a basis—Gallo-Roman in the West, Greco-Buddhist at Gandhara—we next see the rise of two great world religions—Latin Christianity in the West and the Buddhism of Mahayana on the Indo-Afghan frontier—which upset the general conception of life and raise the mind above itself. These two religions, though of course differing in their dogmas, are each inspired by a similar idealism and mysticism, a poetical type of piety and sensibility which had much in common. Under the influence of these two higher types of idealism we may see the Greco-Roman substratum undergoing two parallel processes of transformation, which follow similar laws in almost identical fashion. Without any possible geographical contact or any imaginable historical communication Gothic was invented twice over at an interval of a thousand years undoubtedly by no means the least curious of the adventures of the mind."[2]

Today's Neglect of the Gandhara School and Denial to it of Spiritual Values

Before concluding these remarks two items appear worthy of more emphasis, than has perhaps so far been given, however brief: the present neglect of the Gandharan School and the denial to it of spiritual values.

In dealing with the first it is but natural to enquire what reason can be assigned for the neglect suffered by the Gandharan School at the hands of students and scholars of Indian art and archeology alike?

The answer does not seem far to seek. Though the art of Gandhara takes its being from Northern Indian soil, from a significant and exalted branch of Indian religious metaphysic, the school is in some disfavour because it happens to be a hybrid. It is therefore considered by the purists as scarcely worthy of notice. Yet, due to its almost total exclusion from Indian attention,

[2] Ibid. pgs. 155-56.

a most remarkable chapter of human experience and human endeavour is being denied access, just because a thing that is not purely Indian can be nobody's business. This, or so at least it appears to the present writer, is nothing more than to put in practice a variant of 'isolationism' which if we are to look forward to a 'brave new world' any thoughtful person must decry.

A great deal of the prejudice against Gandhara no doubt is due again to the fact that it is so often contrasted, be it admitted to its unquestionable disadvantage, with the art renaissance under the Guptas. To impose upon it however a formula brought to such admirable fruition by the purely indigenous mastery of the Gupta artist is to demand from it a formula to which it never made any attempt to subscribe. Fair criticism therefore must surely judge it in proportion to the degree of success or failure attained within its self-imposed plastic limitations. In its inception the art of Gandhara conforms to definite Hellenistic canons rather than Indian, and to condemn it merely for this is surely arbitrary, if not absurd. Placed among the Hellenic schools, as the present writer, as well as others who have had opportunity to delve more deeply, have been at no small pains to declare, it can hold its own in a place of honour. But when it has been said that it subscribes to an Hellenic formula this is by no means tantamount to saying that therefore it has been deprived of everything Indian, and is therefore entirely alien and must be removed from all text-books devoted to Indian plastic endeavour. The Indian element remains, and when it is at its strongest, results in a mélange of the most fascinating and instructive kind. If the purists must be obeyed then what place are we to assign to the school of Moghul art, which is India's pride, and to which the most universal homage is paid? If the Moghul school is not hybrid then indeed no school can be hybrid. How too, one wonders, would the great European schools fare against a charge of hybridity? It is best in the case of the Gandharan school to remember that Hellenism neither subdues nor destroys elements that are purely Indian. What happens is that there is a resulting fusion. If anything, it is rather Hellenism that is subdued. If the technique is accounted Hellenic the spirit breathed from the best pieces is purely Buddhist-Indian, as surely in this example! (F. 12). It has been well said that in the masterpieces of Indian art, (the Padmapāṇi of Ajanta is one of the supreme examples), there is never lacking the element of *bhakti*. Surely not a little of it is here? No one unversed in the Buddhistic canon could have caught just that quality of inspiration which is here, the quality of devotional spirit which rejects all counterfeit, and sees with the inner mind, and is thus able to record the inner

reality; to perceive the idea so clearly and to hold it so firmly that the noble work is illumined by it: Such is pure objectivity which transcends a personal or limited sense of things, becoming thus absorbed in the universal. Here surely is the expression of a sensibility which in its profound aprehension venerates and loves Sakyamuni as the "Great Compassionate One" (mahākārunika). Here, we may well believe, there has been at work an artist who in order to place his concept of the divine before us has triumphed over self and in the enlargement of his vision has apprehended his devotion (*bhakti*) in terms of plastic form. If it is permissable to accept such a premise who is it that can be so blinded by purist motives as to reject this noble work and deny it an honoured place in its rightful Indian home? And if this is not enough, do not same sentiments look down upon us in this second tender study of the Buddha?' What vitally matters here is not what derives from the West but from the East. (P. 13). And in saying all this we have already qualified our second point of emphasis, namely the denial by the purists of spiritual values in the art of Gandhara. Our remarks however have so far found their qualification in the art of Gandhara II, while the contention has been levelled much more at Gandhara I. Let us then turn to Gandhara I for a final illustration that may help once again to caution those too eager to content themselves with a generalisation and have little patience to seek for the particular. It is true the fault is not so much theirs when many galleries which exhibit examples of Gandharan art appear to take a special pride in allotting to conspicuous positions effete and mediocre specimens rather than seek out the most refined and finished products of the Gandharan school. Here then is our final example which we trust we are not too presumptuous to suggest is really a first rate product of the schist school, a suggestion we will try to qualify in a moment. We see here (P. 14) a life-size study of the Bodhisattva Siddhartha. What is most interesting in this bust is the happy blending of the naturalistic and the idealistic. It is as much a portrait, and perhaps more, as the Louvre example illustrated early in these observations, of the young rajah clad in the costume of the Punjabi or Awaghi nobles of the Kushan period. But it holds one distinct advantage over the Louvre example—the artist has not been content to illustrate the mere physical magnificence of his model but endows it with immense spiritual appeal as well. Again we notice that quality, already noticed in the stucco exhibits, of *bhakti*. Here again it is surely permissable to suggest we have a most noble contribution to Humanistic art, clearly revealing the heights to which the schist school of Gandhara I might attain given the most favourable

PLATE 3

13

14

15

conditions, and probably, as in this case, the benefit of a more enlightened and refined patronage. The provenance of this specimen is uncertain, but the best examples of the schist school hail from Swat or Mardan.

And here it is time to leave the detailed examination of this fascinating subject. But for the benefit of further clarity it were perhaps best [redacted] present *ad seriatim* the most prominent features and observations that have arisen in the course of our excursus.

Outline of Principal Findings

1. That there are *two* schools we should identify in the art of Gandhara, the earlier, or schist school, with its best examples hailing from Swat and Mardan. This has been named Gandhara I. The school rises [redacted] the peak of its maturity somewhere in the 2nd century A.D., and grows more and more mechanical and uninspired until its climax somewhere in the 5th century A.D.
2. The first Buddha-Apollo takes its inception from the work of a Greek or Indo-Greek artist somewhere in the 1st century A.D.
3. As the result of two recent outstanding finds there appears good reason to credit the Greeks in India with the making of objects other than coins to meet an exclusive Hellenic demand. Evidence in support of this, the discovery of two terracottas worked in honour of Apollo.
4. That in Gandhara II a clear line of demarcation ought [redacted] be distinguished between the stucco schools identifiable with the areas Gandhara-Taxila and Gandhara-Kabul. Notable contrasts provide these distinctions: the first is comparatively static, immobile and insipid, while the second, the Gandhara-Kabul school, exhibits a marked élan and vigorous individualism. The results in the second instance afford vivid snapshot effects of vivid varied ethnological and social types daily familiar to the modellers and drawn doubtless from the animated cosmopolitan Kushan world in which they lived.
5. The recent notable discoveries at Begram (ancient Kapisa) afford evidence of a flourishing trade in luxury products with the ancient Syrian cities of Cidon, Antioch, and Palmyra whose caravan trade with India travelled by way of Persia and Afghanistan. The significance of

this caravan traffic determines the degree of cultural influences at work in the Kabul valley civilisation which originate from the impact of Roman Orient standards of fashion and of art technique.

6. Discovery of a presumed head of a Bacchus or of a follower. The significances latent in this discovery may help towards determining the degree of Roman contact made with the civilisation of the Kabul valley which clearly practises a vigorous cosmopolitanism.

7. Evidence, through the stuccos, of the influence of Roman-Orient fashions on ladies' coiffures in the Kabul valley civilisation.

8. Remarkable degree of technical dexterity evidenced by the Kabul valley stuccos. A comparison with prevalent Roman styles in sculpture yields suggestion of a very intimate familiarity with the art ideals of Flavian Rome.

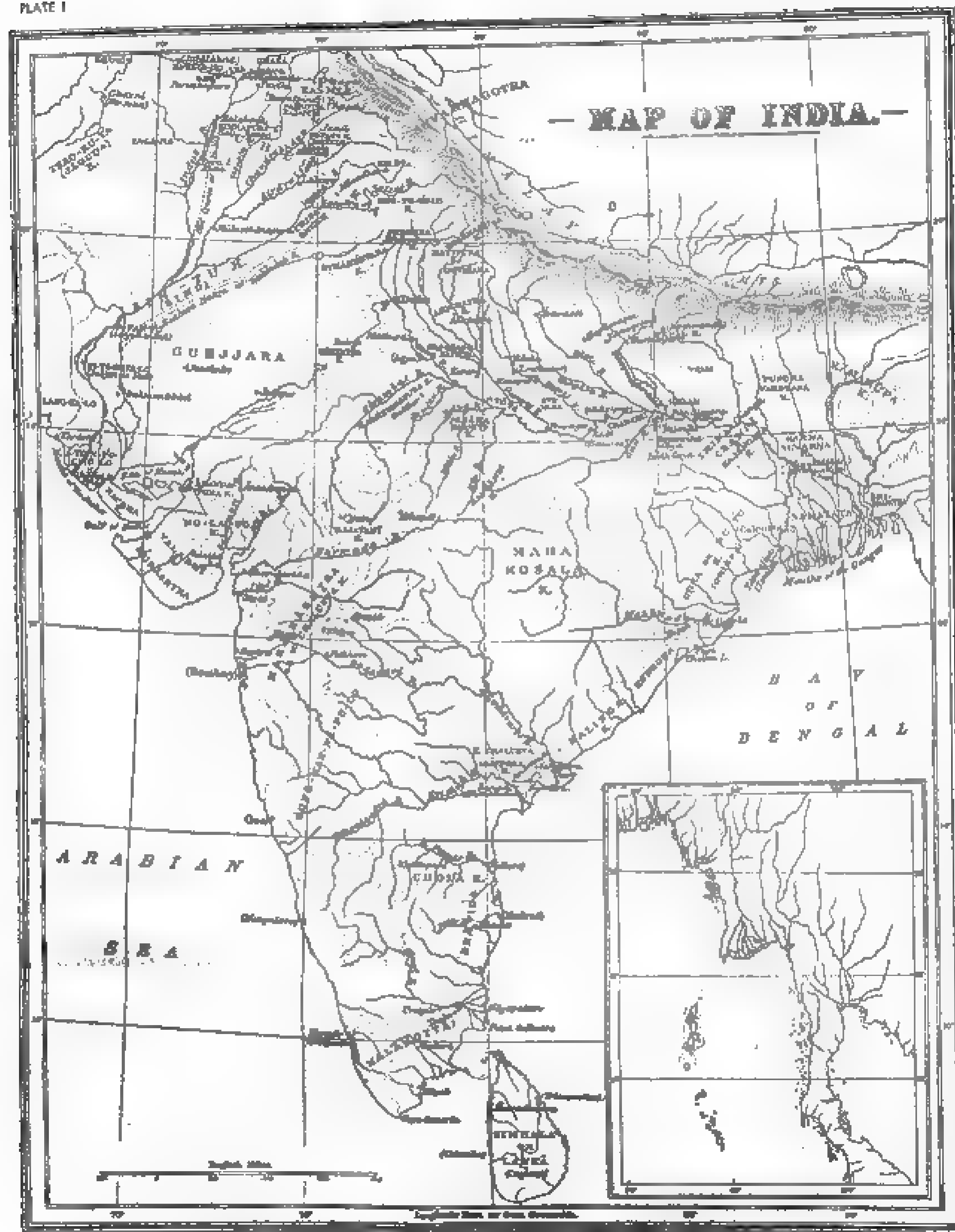
9. Formulas of Romanesque and Gothic styles anticipated in the Kabul valley sculptures by a thousand years.

10. Antagonism and neglect of the Gandharan school by the 'purist' school of critics controverted.

And so here we must make an end. If something has been done in the foregoing remarks to remove even ever so little the neglect to which the study of Gandharan art in India has been subjected the present writer will have felt more than rewarded for whatever modest labours that may appear to have been involved. For, those, caring to read the signs, the art of Gandhara affords insight into an illuminating page, not only in the history of an art, but of a religion, and of the finest element in man, the spirit of universal charity and brotherhood, which lies at the very roots of the noble creed of Sakyamuni. Here in the stones and stuccos the reader has been reviewing he may behold the spirit of man at work as it breathed and moved and maintained its humanistic message through just six centuries of our time in this Romano-Buddhist mélange of North-West India and the Kabul valley.

E. DICKINSON.

PLATE I



A GLIMPSE OF INDIA THIRTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO

PERHAPS in no period of India's long history has she exercised a greater influence in Asia than during the seventh century of our era. Politically disunited, she had nevertheless acquired a cultural empire which extended from Cape Comorin to the borders of China and from the confines of ancient Bactria to Cambodia and Java, and it was Indian thought, art and religion that played a predominant part in shaping the destinies of this vast area.

The India of thirteen hundred years ago sometimes reminds me of Italy during the period of the Renaissance in Europe. In spite of her political dissension, the corruption of her priesthood and the selfishness of her rulers, the court of each petty Italian despot of the fifteenth century nevertheless constituted a centre at which learned men assembled from all over Europe. Although Italy was destined in the succeeding centuries to be a mere battlefield for the northern nations, it must be remembered that it was largely to the Italy of the Renaissance that those nations owed their culture, their art, their religion and their political ideals.

During the short time at my disposal I can only give the merest glimpse of the India of thirteen hundred years ago; but in attempting to do this, I think I should say a few words about the China Road, for even then the problem of the China Road which is troubling us so much to-day, had been solved in a manner suitable to the requirements of that remote period. Of course, I am not speaking of a road in the modern sense of the term but of something in the nature of a track over which pilgrims, caravans and even armies might pass, provided they were prepared to endure great hardship and face much danger. The great highway by which Chinese silk was carried to the West had been opened by the Chinese Emperor Wu-Ti of the Han Dynasty as far back as the second century B.C. It passed through what is now known as Chinese Turkestan, crossed the Pamirs to Sogdiana and Samarkand and thence was connected with another road which passed through Parthia to Antioch and the other great ports of Syria. It was also connected with India by branch roads over the passes of the mountains of Kashmir or the Hindu Kush. It was by this road and its branches that Indian and, to a lesser extent, Iranian culture and religion penetrated into Turkestan and China. When we reach the seventh century A.D. we find that Buddhism had already been adopted as one of the great religions of China and that an intimate cultural contact had been established between the Chinese Empire and the Kingdoms of India.

At this time the silk road followed three alternative routes:

(1) *North of the Tien-shan Mountains*,—*i.e.*, through Anshi, Hami, Turfan, Urumchi, Kuldja, thence between the Balkash and Issik-kul Lakes to Talas, Tashkand and Samarkand.

(2) *North of the Taklamakan Desert and south of the Tien-shan Mountains*,—*via* Anshi, Loulan, Karashahr, Kucha, Kashgar and over the Pamirs to Samarkand.

(3) *South of the Taklamakan Desert and north of the Kunlun Mountains*,—*via* Anshi, Tunhuang, Lopnor, Charchan, Niya, Khotan and Yarkand and thence *via* Tashkurghan to the upper Oxus Valley over the Baroghil and Darkot passes to Kashmir.

More particularly the southern portion of this area may be described as a part of the Greater India of the seventh century. I have not the time to refer in detail to the ancient monarchies of Turkestan, the Tochari civilisation of Kucha and Turfan, the Indian kingdom of Khotan, the ancient Buddhist monasteries of Central Asia with their artistic treasures which have been brought to light in recent times, or to the wonders of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tunhuang, where Indian influences mingled with those of China to produce the great school of painting of the Tang Dynasty (618-906 A.D.) For further information on these fascinating subjects I refer you to the great publications of Sir Aurel Stein, to Professor Le Coq's "Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan," or to René Grousset's excellent book entitled "In the Footsteps of the Buddha."

Much of our information about India and Central Asia of the seventh century A.D. is derived from the memoirs and the contemporary biography of the great Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang. He was born near Honanfu about the year 603 A.D. and was converted from Confucianism to Mahāyāna Buddhism at an early age. When he was about 26 years old, he set out in 629 on a lonely pilgrimage to India to visit the holy places of the Buddhists in this country and to study the ancient texts of the Mahāyāna at their fountain head. After many adventures he reached the capital of Kapiśā (some miles to the north of the modern city of Kabul) in the spring of 630. In those days Kapiśā was regarded as being within the boundaries of India proper and the King belonged to the Kṣatriya caste.

As I propose to follow in the footsteps of the great pilgrim* (or the Master of the Law as his biographer describes him) we will now

*See notes on pp. 53—62, which were prepared with reference to the lantern slides by which this lecture was illustrated.

pause for a few moments to refer very briefly to a few broad aspects of the conditions in India as they existed at the time of the Master's arrival.

(1) India was then divided into about eighty separate kingdoms. Some of these were completely independent whereas in others the rulers owed allegiance to some more powerful sovereign who had established a sort of feudal sovereignty over his neighbours. For instance, in North-West India numbers of petty states in the Kabul valley and the Gandhāra country were tributaries to the King of Kapiśā. Taxila was a dependency of the Kingdom of Kashmir while most of the other states of Northern and Central India (including those of the whole of the Gangetic valley) were subject to the great Harṣavardhana, the king of Kanauj. This monarch had established his authority over at least thirty-six separate states north of the Mahānadi, of which the rulers of no less than eighteen were in attendance at Harṣa's court at the time of the elaborate religious festivities which the Emperor celebrated at Prayāg and Kanauj in 643 and of which Hiuen Tsang has left a most interesting account.

In Eastern India, the most important Kingdom was South Kośala while in South and in the Deccan the kings of the Pallava and the Chalukyan dynasties were engaged in a bitter contest for supremacy. In Western India, the most powerful kings were those of Sindh, Valabhī and Gurjara.

At this time, Valabhī was one of the most important cities of India and the rulers of the kingdom belonged to the Maitraka dynasty. They were expelled by the Arabs in the eighth century and their capital was destroyed. It is, however, interesting to note that the Maharanas of Udaipur trace their descent from a posthumous son of the last ruler of the kingdom of Valabhī. It may also be mentioned that it is not unlikely that the kings of Gurjara in Hiuen Tsang's time were the ancestors of Nāgabhaṭa II of Bhilmal in Rajputana, who about 820 A.D. founded the famous Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj, which continued to rule in that city until Rājyapāla was expelled by Mahmūd of Ghaznī in 1018.

(2) The courts of the Indian rulers were brilliant centres of art and learning. Anything in the nature of religious persecution was exceedingly rare. Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism flourished side by side. Harṣa seems to have shown a preference for Mahāyāna Buddhism at any rate in the latter years of his reign, but he extended his patronage also to other religions. In spite of the Brahmanical reaction which had continued [redacted] increase in strength and vigour from the days of the great Gupta Emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries, the Buddhists of the seventh century represented

a religious community of great power and influence. In fact, it still seemed within the bounds of possibility that Buddhism might become the national religion of the country. Had Harṣa been able to extend his authority over the Deccan and to found a powerful dynasty of rulers imbued with liberal ideas like his own, the results as regards the future religious and political history of India would have been incalculable. Two events, however, favoured the Brahmanical reactionists.

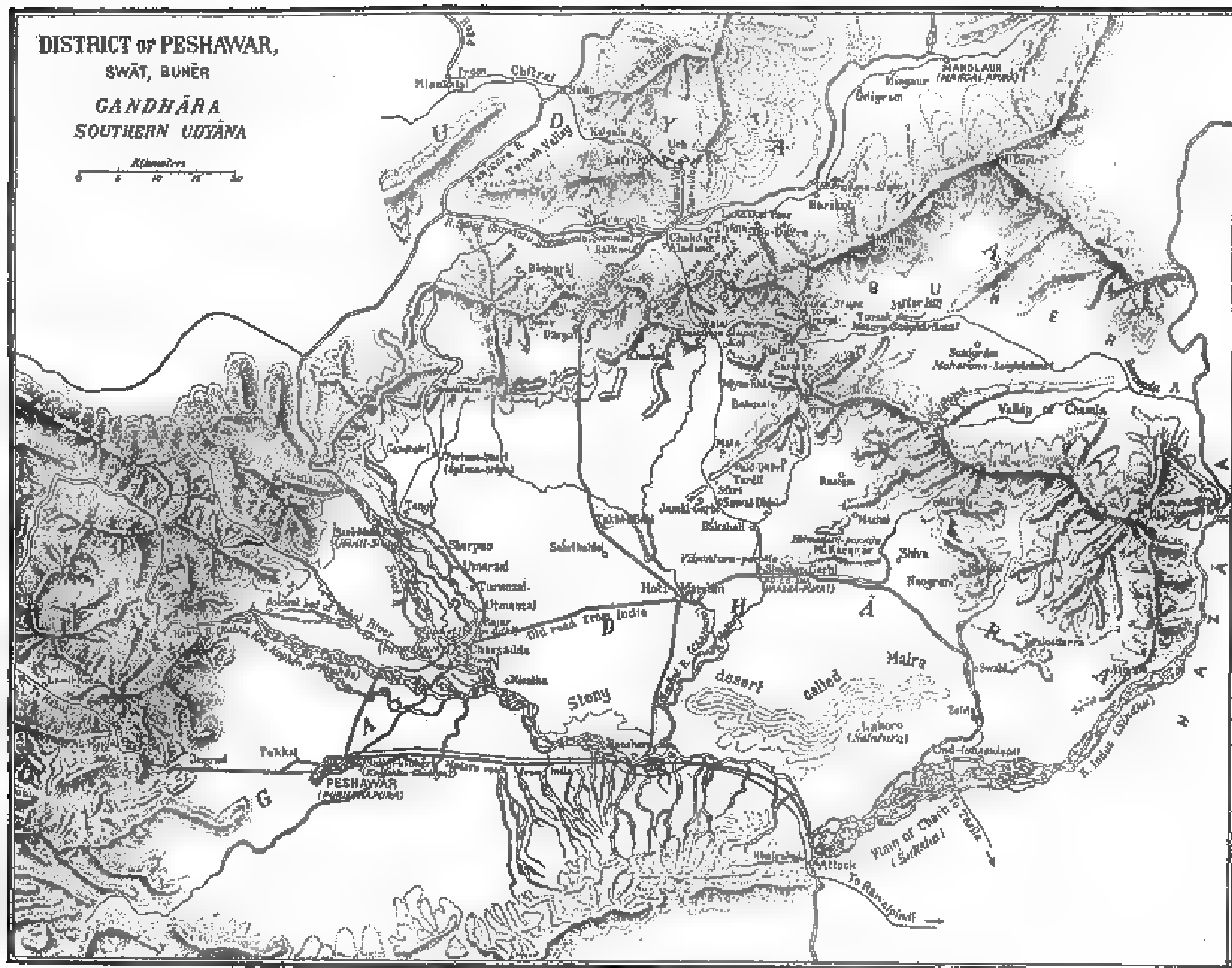
(i) The defeat of the warlike but tolerant Chalukya king, Pulakēśin II, in 642 by the Pallava monarch, Narasiṁhavarman I. This king was an orthodox Hindu and the spirit of his reign is expressed by the sculptures of Mahābalipuram, which rank among the finest works of militant and reactionary Brahmanism.

(ii) The death of the Emperor Harṣa in 648 and the accession of an orthodox Hindu usurper to the throne. This latter event resulted in the splitting up of the Empire of Kanauj into a number of petty Hindu states. In most of these the Brahmin priesthood, as the power behind the throne, gradually succeeded in diverting royal patronage into channels which they regarded as most likely to secure the extension of their privileges and the consolidation of their power. This gradually led to the decline of Buddhism which had disappeared from India by the twelfth century except in a few places like Sārnāth and Nālandā or in Bengal where it had been kept alive by the kings of the Pala dynasty.

(3) Although India of the seventh century had prosperous cities most of which were situated in the Gangetic valley, communication was difficult and the roads were unsafe. The north was separated from the south by primeval forests inhabited by wild jungle tribes. The inhabitants of Dravida and Mahārāṣṭra had in the course of centuries developed their own national characteristics while, even in the north, natural objects such as rivers, deserts and forests prevented any real cohesion of the many elements which made up the population of India.

The main factor which might ultimately have produced cultural, if not political unity, was religion. Buddhism, however with its gospel of renunciation, love and charity remained too monastic in character for it to have a wide popular appeal. The severe asceticism of Jainism was even less attractive than Buddhism to the average man. Where these two religions failed Brahmanism partially succeeded. The process which ultimately was destined to produce modern Hinduism was in vigorous operation at the time

PLATE 2



From Foucher's Notes on Ancient Geography of Gandhara

of Hiuen Tsang's arrival in India. The Vedic Gods were becoming princely deities in whose honour temples were being erected all over the country. Mythological heroes were being allotted places in the Puranic pantheon which was also enlarged in order to include not only many aboriginal gods but even Buddha himself. An impressive ceremonial was elaborated and popular festivities instituted. Stories were told to associate every holy place in India with the deities of the Brahmins. The movement was accompanied by the expansion of Sanskritic learning and literature and some measure of cultural unity had been achieved by the eleventh century when further progress in this direction was interrupted by the early Muslim invasions.

(4) Although the India of the seventh century was primarily an agricultural country, many of her cities were wealthy and beautiful with stately palaces and famous monasteries and temples. The Indians of that time loved the pomp, pageantry and colour of the royal capitals. Pilgrimages to holy places were as popular then as they are now. Religious assemblies attracted thousands of people from all over the country, especially if such assemblies had been convened by the king for the purpose of enabling men of learning to discuss abstract points of theology or philosophy. It was a great age for religious mysticism and philosophic speculation. It was also a period of intense artistic creativeness which is reflected in the paintings of Ajantā and Bagh, in the sculptures of the Pallava and Chalukyan temples and in the magnificent buildings which were erected in Java and Cambodia either by Indians who went there in the seventh century or by their descendents.

N. G. A. Edgley.

NOTES ON HIUEN TSANG'S JOURNEY WITH REFERENCE TO THE PRINCIPAL PLACES VISITED BY HIM

630 A.D.

Purushapura (Peshawar)

Native place of Asanga and Vasubandhu who lived about 300 years before Hiuen Tsang. They were the founders of the school of Mahāyānist Idealism. The pilgrim found the Sanghārāmas in ruins, including the monastery of the "Begging Bowl." The most famous monument was Kanishka's stūpa. It was 400 feet high and was probably the prototype of the Chinese pagoda.

Pushkalāvatī (Charsadda)

The most important sites visited here were:—

(1) The Stūpa of the Eye Gift.

(2) *Hariti Stūpa.* According to the legend she devoured the children of Rājagṛha and was converted by Buddha. The

scene of this legend like that of several others is located by Hiuen Tsang in Gandhāra, as the religious centre of gravity had been transferred from Magadha to N.W. India in Kushān times.

(5) *Śyāma Stūpa.*

Po-lu-sha (Shahbaz-Garhi) Scene of the Vessantara and Mādri Jātaka.

Udayana The pilgrim states of this country that "the people are charms." Formerly there were 1,400 monasteries with 18,000 monks in this country. Capital—Mungali (Manglaur).

Principal sites:—

(1) *Ekaśṛṅga Stūpa.* This saint was reputed to be the son of a Ṛṣi and a she-goat.

(2) *Fountain of the Nāga Apalāla.*

(3) *Śīlaka Stūpa (Girarai).*

(4) *Uttarasena Stūpa.*

After visiting the above-mentioned sites Hiuen Tsang returned to the Indus which he crossed at Udabhānda (Ond).

Takht-i-Bahi This was a typical monastery of the Gandhāra country but it is not expressly mentioned by the pilgrim as having been visited by him.

631 A.D.

Taxila Here the pilgrim must have seen the *Jandial Temple* (1st century A.D.) built in the Greek style. The classical tradition survived down to the Gupta period and even until the 8th century in Kashmir e.g. Mārtāṇḍa Temple. He mentions the *Kunāla Monastery* which was built in honour of Kunāla, the son of Aśoka, who was blinded at the instigation of his step-mother, Tiṣyarakṣitā.

Siṁhapura Manikyala Stūpa Identified by Cunningham as marking the place mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, where Buddha gave his body to feed a starving tiger.

May 631-633 A.D.

Kashmir Hiuen Tsang mentions the legend of Madhyāntika and the Dragon. The interesting monastery of the Kuṣāṇ period of Harwan near the Dal Lake may have been visited by the pilgrim.

633-634 A.D.

Punjab. Halt at Chinapati and Jālandhara.

635 A.D.

Punjab States Bairat Mathura Mathurā was still primarily a Buddhist city with 20 monasteries and 2000 monks and only five Deva temples, some of which must have belonged to the Jains, e.g., the establishment of the Kankali Tīlā, which dates from the 2nd century B.C.

Mathurā was a famous art centre at this time. Many of the fine sculptures now in the Curzon Museum were probably seen by the pilgrim. Here were situated the stūpas of the Buddha's disciples in whose honour annual festivals were held. Hiuen Tsang says that on these days men "honour the stūpas with offerings: banners and sunshades are displayed, the incense makes clouds and the flowers are scattered in showers."

Thaneswar "There is a large accumulation here of rare and valuable merchandise from every quarter." Nearby was the site of the battle-field of Kurukṣetra.

Harṣa removed his capital from this city to Kanauj.

636 A.D.

Speaking of the Ganges Hiuen Tsang says: "This is where religious merit is found and sin effaced. There are always hundreds and thousands of people gathered together here from distant quarters to bathe and wash in its waters. Benevolent kings have founded here 'a house of merit.' The foundation is endowed with funds for providing choice food and medicines, to bestow in charity on widows and bereaved persons, on orphans and the destitute." Māyāpura (probably Hardwar)

His biographer states:—"Its waters are sweet and soft to the taste and the stream carries with it sands of extreme fineness. The ordinary books of the country speaks of it as the 'blessed River,' those who bathe in it are cleansed from sin; those who drink its water or even rinse their mouths therefrom escape from all dangers and calamities, and when they die forthwith are born in heaven, and enjoy happiness. So the common folk, men and women are always congregating on the banks of the river. But this is merely the heretical belief of the district and is not true."

Ramnagar in the Bareilly District, formerly the capital of N. Pañchāla. According to the *Mahābhārata*, Droṇa, the preceptor of the Pāṇḍavas, defeated Drupada and seized the throne himself. Drupada was allowed to continue to rule in S. Pañchāla. His daughter, Draupadī, married the five Pāṇḍava brothers. At the time of Cunningham's survey the fortress walls had a circuit of 3½ miles with 32 bastions. Hiuen Tsang mentions ten monasteries with 1000 monks and nine Deva temples with 300 sectaries who smeared themselves with ashes. Ahichchhatra

The scene of Buddha's descent from the heaven of the thirty-three Gods, with Brahma and Indra. Kapitha (Sankisa)

Harṣa's capital. It was known as the city of ten thousand temples when it was captured and plundered by Mahmūd of Ghazni in 1018. Kānyakubja (Kanauj)

At the time of the pilgrim's visit he found the "Buddhists and heretics about equal in number." There were 100 monasteries with 10,000 monks and 200 Deva Temples.

Hiuen Tsang describes the royal progress from Prayāga to Kanauj in 643, the erection and destruction by fire of a great monastery with a golden statue of Buddha and the attempt by the Brahmins to murder the king, as a result of which 500 were banished.

During the course of the river journey to Prayāga, Hiuen Tsang was attacked by pirates. He and his party were plundered and the robbers wanted to sacrifice him to Durgā. He was saved by a cyclone. "On this they each encouraged one another to deeds of amendment and, collecting their various instruments of robbery together, they cast them into the river, and whatever clothes or private property they had taken they restored these to their rightful owners and then they took on themselves the five obligations of a lay-believer."

Hiuen Tsang mentions the famous 'undying banyan tree' and the "Field of Charity" where Harṣa distributed his accumulated wealth every five years. He also noticed the "Pole" ascetics. "They hope by these means to escape from birth and death and many continue to practise this ordeal through several decades of years." Prayāga

Kauśāmbī 10 ruined monasteries and 50 Deva temples. "The number of heretics is enormous."

Śrāvastī (Sahet Mahet) Capital of King Prasenajit of Kośala. Here was situated the Jetavana (the gift of Anātha-Piṇḍaka to the Buddha). Śrāvastī was the scene of "The Great Miracle." It was from here that Virūḍhaka set forth to destroy the Śākyas. Amongst other famous sites the pilgrim visited the Vihāra of Prajāpati (Buddha's Aunt).

Kapilavastu The Old City was the Tauliva Kot in Nepal. The site was completely desolate in Hiuen Tsang's time.

The Lumbini Garden has been located at Rummindēī (Nepal) 10 miles east of Tauliva Kot, where an Asoka pillar and a relief of the birth scene have been discovered. The Pillar is split down the middle and was formerly surmounted by a horse.

At *Piprāwā* (Basti Dt.) nine miles west of Rummindēī, there is a stūpa which was found to contain Buddha relics.

The old city of Kapilavastu was destroyed by Virūḍhaka, son of King Prasenajit of Kośala. Probably a new city was built after this near Piprāwā.

637 A.D.

Kuśinagara Cunningham locates Kusinagara at Kasia in the Gorakhpur District. This identification is supported by recent excavations and the discovery of numerous monasteries. Large recumbent figures of the dying Buddha at Kunwar-ka-Kot (the Nirvāṇa site mentioned by Hiuen Tsang). Stūpa at Devisthan (the cremation site). Hiuen Tsang found the city a wild waste.

Benares Here the pilgrim noticed about "100 Deva temples with 10,000 sectaries." Of the inhabitants he says:—

> "They honour principally Maheśvara. Some cut their hair off, others tie their hair in a knot and go naked without clothes, they cover their bodies with ashes and by the practice of all sorts of austerities they seek to escape from birth and death." . . . . "The statue of Deva Maheśvara made of copper is somewhat less than 100 feet high. Its appearance is grave and majestic and appears as though really living." 30 Buddhist monasteries with 3,000 brethren.

Sarnath The pilgrim found 1,500 brethren at Sārnāth (Deer Park). The monks followed the "little vehicle" of the Sammatiya School. The Deer Park was the scene of the Buddha's First Sermon.

Principal sites:—

(1) *The Chaukhandi Stūpa* which was 300 feet high in Hiuen Tsang's time. It marked the spot where the disciples declined to rise to salute the Buddha.

(2) *The main shrine* was 200 feet high with a life-sized Buddha figure in brass.

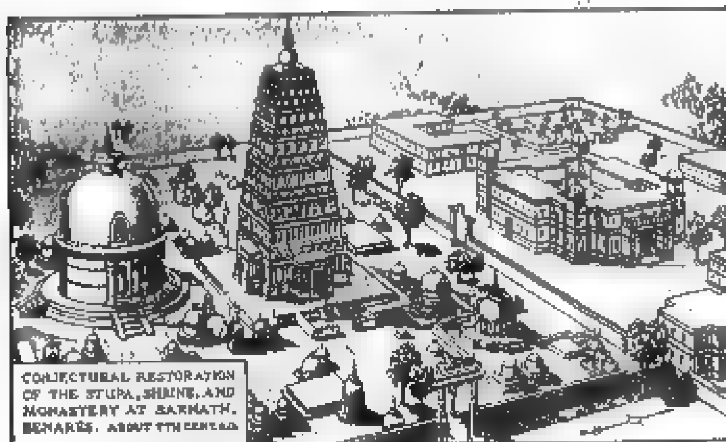
(3) *The Aśoka pillar* was 70 feet high.

(4) *The Aśoka stūpa*, now known as the Dharmarājika Stūpa, where the Buddha first began to preach.

To the West, was the spot where Chaddanta gave his tusks to the hunter.

Many stūpas are mentioned but it is difficult specifically to identify the Dhamekh stūpa.

Mahabodhi Temple—Bodhgaya



CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF THE STUPA, SHRINE, AND MONASTERY AT SARNATH, BENARES. ABOUT 7TH CENTURY

637 A.D.

The capital of the Lichchavis. It was in ruins at the time of the pilgrim's visit. The Lion pillar of Aśoka is mentioned and also a stūpa marking the spot from which Buddha gazed on Vaiśālī for the last time. Vaiśālī (Basarh)

Amrapālī's garden was situated here.

The king was a Lichchavi Kṣatriya. Nepal

Only the foundations remained except in the case of two or three monasteries. Pāṭaliputra

Aśoka is said to have removed the capital here from Rājagṛha. Many anecdotes of Aśoka are mentioned. A fort was built here by Ajātaśatru, the contemporary of Buddha. The pilgrim particularly noticed the Buddha's footprint. "He was on the southern side of the river and addressed Ānanda thus as he stood 'This is the last time that I shall gaze upon the Vajrāsana and Rājagṛha' and the traces of his feet on this stone remained."

"It has but few inhabitants: there are about 1,000 families of Brahmins only, they are the offspring of a Ṛṣi, *Brahmayogin*." The pilgrim states that "from old days it has been the custom for the ruling sovereign when he comes to the throne with a view to conciliate his subjects at a distance and to cause his renown to exceed previous generations, to ascend this mountain and to declare his succession with accompanying ceremonies." Gayā

Buddha went here for enlightenment after six years of austerities but was dissuaded by the mountain spirit. This mountain is to the east of the Nairañjanā or Phalgu River. Prāgbodhi

Near Uruvela. Bodh Gayā

"The present temple had been built by a Brahmin acting on the advice given to him by Śiva in the snow mountains, and the neighbouring tank had been built by the Brahmin's brother also according to Śiva's advice." This was before the time of Śaśāṅka.

(1) *The Bodhi tree* was destroyed by Aśoka, Tiṣyarakṣitā and then by Śaśāṅka but was restored by Pūrṇavarman.
(2) *The Original shrine* was built by Aśoka; this is shown in the Barhut sculpture with an elephant monolith.
(3). *The Railing* was erected about 60 B.C. by a lady named Kuraṅgī, the wife of king Indrāgnimitra. Very little seems to be known about this dynasty. The railing was enlarged in the sixth century when the temple was built.
(4) *The Jewel Walk* and other sites are mentioned.
(5) *The Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma* was outside the north gate. "It was built by a former king of Ceylon."

637-638 A.D.

One of the great universities of Asia with about 10,000 students. Hiuen Tsang's biographer states:— Nālandā

"The richly adorned towers like pointed hill-tops are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours of the morning and the upper rooms tower above the clouds. . . . . All the outside courts in which are the priests'

chambers are of four stages. The stages have dragon projections and coloured eaves. The pearl-red pillars carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene. The Saṅghārāmas of India are counted by myriads, but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height."

Hiuen Tsang says:—

"Learned men from different cities who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion come here in multitudes to settle their doubts and then the streams of their wisdom spread far and wide. For this reason some people usurp the name of Nālandā students and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence. If men of other quarters desire to enter and take part in the discussions, the keeper of the gate proposes some hard questions, many are unable to answer and retire. One must have studied deeply both old and new books before getting admission."

Śīlabhadra (106 years old) was the principal of the University. He was a pupil of Dharmapāla (d. 600).

The pilgrim mentions a copper image of the Buddha, 80 feet high, erected by Pūrṇavarman.

Rājagṛha

This city had been the capital of:—

Bimbisāra (543-491).

Ajātaśatru (491-459) who founded the new Rājagṛha.

Udayin (459-443) who transferred the capital to Pāṭaliputra.

The following sites were visited by the pilgrim in or near Rājagṛha:—

(1) *The Scene of Devadatta's attempt on the Buddha's life.*
(2) *Gṛdhra Kūṭa.*
(3) *Veṇuvana of Karaṇḍa.*
(4) Saptaparṇī Cave, the scene of the First Council.
(5) *New Rājagṛha.*
(6) *The hot springs which, according to Hiuen Tsang, had their origin in the Anavatapta Lake.*
(7) *Jīvaka's Mango Garden.*
(8) *Indraśilāguhā.*

638 A.D.

VISIT TO BENGAL AND ASSAM

Paharpur (Rajshahi District)

The monastery which has been excavated recently was built in the latter part of the eighth century by Dharmapāla on the site of an older Jaina Vihāra which dated back to the 5th century A.D. Hiuen Tsang remarked that the Digambara (naked) Nirgranthas were very numerous in the kingdom of Puṇḍravardhana.

Mahāsthān

Capital of Puṇḍravardhana—on the river Karatoyā (7 miles north of Bogra).

Learning was esteemed in the kingdom which contained 20 Saṅghārāmas with 3,000 priests. One of these situated near the capital had 700 brethren. The pilgrim may have seen the Gobinda Bhiṭā, north-east of Mahasthan, near the river. It is the site of a temple

which, according to tradition, was dedicated to Viṣṇu. The brick-work is of the late Gupta period.

Tāmralipti (Tamluk) Chief Port of East India. The pilgrim remarks that the people were rich.

10 Saṅghārāmas with 1,000 priests and 50 Deva temples.

Karṇasuvarṇa (Rangamati) Hiuen Tsang mentions the large Raktaviti monastery (Lo-to-Wei-chi)—erected in honour of a South Indian monk. It contained spacious halls and lofty towers. Karṇasuvarṇa was the capital of Śaśāṅka (King of Gauḍa before 600). The city was occupied by Bhāskaravarman (King of Kāmarūpa) between 638 and 648 A.D.

The remains of a Buddhist establishment of the 6th-7th centuries A.D. have been discovered here.

JOURNEY TO THE SOUTH

Orissa The principal port was Charitra. "Here it is that merchants depart for distant countries. . . . This port was probably situated in the Mahanadi delta, about 10 miles below Cuttack.

Kongoda District round the Chilka Lake (Ganjam).

S. Kośala Associated with the preaching of Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Madhyamika School of Buddhist Philosophy. He probably lived from c. 127 to c. 197 A.D. Hiuen Tsang mentions a great five storied rock monastery built by one of the Sātavāhana Kings for Nāgārjuna to the south-west of the kingdom, but this monastery is very difficult to identify.

Andhra This is probably the Eastern Chalukyan Kingdom which was taken from the Pallavas by Pulakeśin II in 611. Capital Vengi.

639 A.D.

Dhānya-kaṭaka Probably Amarāvatī, formerly one of the capitals of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty.

"The convents are numerous but mostly deserted and ruined; of those preserved there are about 20 with 1,000 or so priests."

Hiuen Tsang remained here for about six months.

Numerous Buddhist remains have been found in this neighbourhood at Nāgārjunikonda, Goli, Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeta, Bhattiprolu and Ghantasala on or near the banks of the Lower Krishna.

The gateways at Sanchi were erected and the sculptures at Amarāvatī were executed during the regime of the Andhra Dynasty (200 B.C.—250 A.D.).

Periods of the Amarāvatī Sculptures in the Madras and British Museums:—

(1) c. 150 B.C. (2) c. 100 A.D. (3) c. 150 A.D.
(4) c. 250 A.D.

With regard to these sculptures Grousset observes:—

> "They are Buddhist work, certainly in the gentleness of their inspiration, but of so delicately pagan a composition that we feel in them a breath of the eternal youth of the Hindu nature."

640 A.D.

Kāñchīpura (Conjeeveram) This was the capital of the Pallava Kings.

(1) Mahendravarman I (600-630) introduced the cave style of architecture in Dravida *e.g.* Trichinopoly.

(2) Narasimhavarman I (630-668), to his reign belong the cave

temples, the rathas and the "Descent of the Ganges" at Mahābalipuram.

(3) Mahendravarman II (668-670).

(4) Parameśvaravarman (670-690).

(5) Narasimhavarman II (Rājasimha) 690-715. During his reign were built the Kailāsanātha Temples at Kanchi and the Shore Temple (Mahābalipuram).

These are developments of the Dharmarāja Ratha.

Hiuen Tsang abandoned his projected visit to Ceylon owing to the outbreak of civil war and returned to the North.

Mahārāshtra The northern capital of King Pulakesin II (608-642) at this time appears to have been Nasik. The Chālukyas were probably of Rajput origin. The pilgrim probably saw the Gautamīputra Vihāra at Nasik.

641 A.D.

Ajanta "On the eastern frontier is a great mountain with towering crags and a continuous stretch of piled up rocks and scarped precipices. In this there is a sanghārāma constructed in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the face of the rocks. . . . The great vihāra of the convent is about 100 feet or so in height; in the middle is a stone figure of Buddha about 70 feet or so high."

"On the four sides of the vihāra on the stone walls are painted different scenes in the Tathāgata's preparatory life as a Bodhisattva."

Cave No. 1 (600-642 A.D.) which contains some of the best paintings was probably being cut at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit.

Malwa The fatherland of Kālidāsa.

Valabhi The King was Dhruvasena, the son-in-law of Harsha. He adopted Buddhism. The pilgrim mentions piles of precious merchandise from foreign lands.

[illegible] "The king is of the Kṣatriya caste. He is just 60 years old."

(The battle of Nehavend in 641 A.D. marked the fall of the Sassanian Empire.)

EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL INDIA.

In this part of the country the pilgrim must have seen many early temples of the Gupta period like those at Tigawa and Deogarh.

Sanchi Is not mentioned but it was a typical Buddhist establishment at this time.

642 A.D.

RETURN TO MAGADHA.

Second visit to Nālandā and neighbouring monasteries where he took part in numerous religious discussions.

643 A.D.

Kanauj Here the pilgrim attended a religious assembly. He describes a religious assembly when 5,00,000 people were present at the "Field of Charity."

Return to North-West India.

644 A.D.

Return Journey to China Hiuen Tsang arrived in China in 645 with many relics and 657 books. He was given a magnificent reception at the capital by the Emperor Tai-Tsung (d. 649) and the people. Hiuen Tsang died in 664.

N. G. A. EDGLEY.

TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO

I wonder if many of us here have felt the lure and mystery of Central Asia. Names like Samarkand and Bokhara, Kashgar and Yarkand bring up pictures of long trains of camels laden with silk from China and musk from Tibet bazaars full of the famous deep red rugs known as pil pa or elephant's feet because they are patterned with squares like the tracks of marching elephants, and tribes whose names themselves like the Golden Horde of Kipchak make one want to find out more about them. Then there are tales of great mountain barriers like the Pamirs which men call the roof of the world, the home of the huge wild rams described by Marco Polo while Dante was still alive and never rediscovered till 1887, and the trackless wastes of the desert of Gobi where the fable goes that lagging travellers are led astray in the night by voices of spirits which they believe to be their companions.

All these and many more strange travellers tales have ever roused men's curiosity about these half-known regions, and among those who have been lured by the spirit of adventure to go and see these wonders for themselves was a Venetian boy of some fourteen years old in the year A.D. 1268 called Marco Polo, whose father and uncle had gone on a trading venture into Tartary some years before and about whom news was long overdue. Venice was then at the height of her greatness when the trade routes from the East into Europe converged on her city making her the commercial exchange for the riches of the world, and thus giving her the wealth and power that enabled her to rule the Mediterranean and, you will remember the lines, to hold the glorious East in fee.

Marco must have waited on the kuay-side behind S' Marks and the Doge's palace near where the great lines in modern times put their passengers on shore, and spent the time asking travellers from the East whether they had heard anything of Niccolo and Maffeo his father and his uncle, and at the same time listening to the travellers, tales which fired his keen Venetian imagination with an urge to go and see such wonders for himself.

In due course his father and uncle turned up, after a journey which is worth describing shortly as it shows what great ventures were undertaken by these merchant pioneers of the middle ages into the little known regions of the world. Niccolo and Maffeo were rich merchants of Venice who on a trading enterprise sailed in their own ship to Constantinople, and taking in a stock of jewels in that

city proceeded to the Crimea where they had a counting house of their own. There they left their ship and went forward on horseback to the land of the Golden Horde of Tartars who dwelt in those days in the regions watered by the Volga from where the Russians not long ago drove back the Germans in the battles centring on Stalingrad. There they stayed a year and sold their jewels—but meanwhile a war broke out between the Khans or rulers of the Volga region where they were trading, and the Khans of Persia to the South, and as the disturbed conditions of the country made their homeward journey hazardous, and also impelled by the Venetian love of trading adventure they decided to travel Eastward and Southward to where the Khans of Chagatai or Central Asia ruled over the lands watered by the Oxus, which we now call Turkestan. What a journey it must have been over the mountains and deserts peopled only by wild Tartars till they reached the rich city of Bokhara where in the leisurely manner of mediaeval travel they stayed three years till by chance a Persian embassy arrived at the city on its way to the Chinese realms of the greatest ruler in the world of those days the great Khan Kubla—the subject long afterwards of Coleridge's dream poem "In Xanadu did Kubla Khan". The chief ambassador assured the brothers of a welcome from the Great Khan, and once more fired by the love of adventure they started off on a journey which took them a year across the heart of Asia till they arrived at the Court of the Great Khan at Cambaluc the name for the city later known as Pekin. The Khan received them graciously and being of an enquiring mind asked them of the affairs of the west, the Holy Roman Empire, and especially of the religion of Christianity of which he had heard something, and of the head of it the Pope. The brothers who by now were familiar with the Tartar language gave discreet and interesting accounts of all these matters, and the Great Khan whose enquiring mind was worthy of his wide and wealthy realm decided to send them back on a mission from himself to the Pope asking for a hundred men of Christian learning to explain their doctrines to the Tartars and for some holy oil from the lamp which burned over Christ's sepulchre in Jerusalem. He provided them with a golden tablet as a passport (this is not a fairy story but authentic history) and sent them off on their long journey back again. It took them three years journeying over Asia to reach Acre on the coast of Palestine where they learnt that the Pope had died the year before and that no successor had yet been elected in the stead; so, as they could not, for the time being, discharge their mission from the Khan they took ship and returned to Venice, where they found young Marco awaiting them. We can imagine how eagerly he drank in the wonderful story of their travels

and how he must have longed for a chance to see these wonders for himself. His chance did come and it was in this wise:

For two years the Elder Polos stayed in Venice waiting for the election of a Pope so that they could carry out the behests of the Great Khan. No election however took place and as they began to fear that they would be suspected of faithlessness in their mission, they decided to return to the East, and to take with them young Marco who was now sixteen or seventeen years old.

Thus began what may fairly be called one of the greatest journeys in the world, for not only did it provide for western eats the first account of vast unknown lands whose wealth and civilisation matched anything which Europe could then shew, but also by inciting men to seek a sea route to those lands directly led to the voyage of a man of Genoa, Venice's great rival city, whose name was Christopher Columbus, and who in his search for the lands of the Great Khan found America instead.

The travellers left Venice in 1271 and did not return till 1295 and what they saw and did during these twenty-four years is described [redacted] the book known as the Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian concerning the kingdoms and marvels of the East or more familiarly the "Travels of Marco Polo".

Time will not allow a description of a tithe of what he saw and did, but so far as time permits let us follow him on his way. It chanced that the travellers had but a short while started on their journey when news came that at last a dignitary of the Church named Tebaldo who was then at Acre in Palestine had been elected as Pope Gregory X, so having first provided themselves with some of the holy oil asked for by the Khan, they made their way to Acre and acquainted the new Pope with the purport of their mission. He gave them letters to the Khan but in the place of the hundred men of learning he was only able to send two Dominican friars described as "men of letters and science as well as profound theologians". Unfortunately these estimable qualities did not prevent the two friars deserting the party and returning home, on hearing that there was a state of war in Armenia through which they would have to pass on their Eastward journey. The route taken by the Polos from Acre was through the South-Eastern regions of modern Turkey in Asia into Irak and via Bagdad through Persia to Badakshan in the north-eastern corner of modern Afghanistan where they halted for a year owing to Marco's ill health. As they passed by place after place on their journey Marco recorded the facts and legends about them, weaving a wonderful tissue of narrative in which like the figures on a tapestry we see now the Old Man of the Mountains training his band of Assassins on the drug hashish, now the first

mention of the oil wells of Baku, then the three kings of the East Melchior Caspar and Balthasar starting with their gold and frankincense and myrrh; anon the barrier in the Elburz mountains where Alexander of Macedon is fabled to have shut off the wild tribes of Gog and Magog, then the jewels of the East the jade of Khotan and rubies and lapis lazuli of Badakshan, the wild sheep of the Pamirs which we call Ovis Poli in Marco's honour, the Goshawks and lanners for the falconry which is the time honoured sport of Eastern nobles—such a tale as had never been told since the days of Herodotus, the father of history, a tale which can be read and re-read while its magic spell spirits us away for an hour or two into the strange lands it describes.

Let us pick out at random one of his stories before we follow him on his journey. Many of us have heard of the Old Man of the Mountains as a legendary mediaeval figure typical of cruelty and violence. We have heard too perhaps of his band of assassins, deriving their name from the intoxicating drug "hashish". We owe the story to Marco who tells it in this wise. The words are not exactly his but I am quoting them sufficiently nearly to give you an idea of how his story runs. "The Old Man had caused a certain valley between two mountains to be enclosed, and had turned it into a garden, the largest and most beautiful that ever was seen, filled with every variety of fruit. In it were erected pavilions covered with gilding and exquisite painting, and there were runnels too flowing freely with wine and milk and honey and water; and numbers of ladies and of the most beautiful damsels in the world, who could play on all manner of instruments, and sung most and danced in a manner that it was charming to behold. And the Old Man desired to make his people believe that this was actually Paradise. Now no man was allowed to enter the garden save those whom he intended to be his Ashishin. There was a fortress at the entrance to the garden strong enough to resist all the world and there was no other way to get in. He kept at his court a number of the youths of the country from 12 to 20 years of age, such as had a taste for soldiering, and to these he used to tell tales about Paradise. Then he would introduce them into his garden, some four, or six, or ten at a time having first made them drink a potion of the drug Hashish which cast them into a deep sleep, and then causing them to be lifted and carried in. So when they awoke, they found themselves in the garden, and behold it was so charming to them that they deemed that it was Paradise in very truth. And the ladies and damsels dallied with them so that they had what young men would have, and with their own good will they would never have quitted the place. But when the Old One wanted one

of his Ashishin [redacted] send on any mission, he would cause that potion whereof I spoke to be given to one of the youths in the garden, and then had him carried into his Palace. [redacted] when the young man awoke he found himself in the castle and no longer in Paradise; whereat he was not over well pleased. He was then conducted to the Old Man's presence, who would ask him whence he came and he would reply that he came from Paradise. This of course gave the others who stood by and who had not been admitted, the greatest desire to enter therein. So when the Old Man would have any enemy slain, he would say to such a youth "Go thou and slay so and so, and when thou returnest my angels shall bear thee into Paradise. And shouldst thou die, natheless even so will I send my angels to carry thee back into Paradise". So he caused them to believe; and thus there was no order of his that they would not affront any peril to execute, for the great desire they had to get back into that Paradise of his. And in this manner the Old One got his people to murder any one whom he desired to get rid of. Thus, too the great dread that he inspired all Princes withal, made them become his tributaries in order that he might abide at peace and amity with them.

I should also tell you that the Old Man had certain others under him who copied his proceedings and acted in the same manner. One of these was sent into the territory of Damascus, and the other into Curdistan.

Now it came to pass, in the year of Christ's incarnation 1252, that Alau, Lord of the Tartars of the Levant, heard tell of these great crimes of the Old Man, and resolved to make an end of him. So he took and sent one of his Barons with a great Army to that castle, and they besieged it for three years, but they could not take it, so strong it was. And indeed if it had had food within, it never would have been taken. But after being besieged for three years they ran short of victual, and were taken. The Old Man was put to death with all his men and the castle with its Garden of Paradise was levelled with the ground. And since that time he has had no successor.

These are Marco's words. We may however well ask whether he has not had another and more fateful successor who knew how to entrap the minds of the German youths with vain dreams and make them the willing agents of his Cruel and ambitious will. Now, as Marco says, let us get back to our journey.

When Marco got better the journey continued passing the Oxus rivers to the great trading cities of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan and thence for thirty dry and thirsty days over the vast desert of Gobi where in recent times there has been the extraordinary

find of fossilised eggs of the prehistoric reptiles dinosaurs. Some of you may have seen them in the New York Museum, eggs laid in Cretaceous ages, some sixty million years ago. East of the desert of Gobi they set their faces for Cambalue the old name for Pekin and near there met the Great Khan Kubla reaching his presence in May 1275 after a journey of three and a half years.

Marco devotes a good deal of this part of his narrative to an account of the Tartars—a matter of real interest to the Europe of those days for it was not much more than thirty years since the Mongols a Tartar race from the country to the north of China had swept under the leadership of Jengis Khan from Asia into Europe in a series of conquests more than rivalling those of Alexander the Great and had looked like dominating the greater part of the then known world. Under Ograi, the successor of Jengis, they reached Hungary, but after defeating an army of Germans and Poles at Liegnitz in Silesia, they had voluntarily returned to their homeland in north east Asia and had thenceforward pursued a career of conquest in Asia, their power waxing and waning during the next two and a half centuries during which period the Mongol Timurlane penetrated far into India, and a later descendant of his the Mongol Baber founded the great Mogul dynasty of Delhi.

Kubla the ruling Mongol Khan at the time of Marco's arrival was a man of that wide inquisitiveness for knowledge which is the hall mark of a fine intellect, and after receiving from the Polos the holy oil and some gifts with which the Pope had charged them, proceeded to employ Marco, to whom he took a great fancy, on various missions which led him into still more remote countries an account of which is given in his Book of Travels. He visited the southern provinces of China, Shensi and Szechuen, skirted the edge of Tibet to Yunnan and entered Northern Burma. On another trip he went to Cochin China and by sea to South India where his account of the cities and people of the Malabar coast is particularly interesting to readers in India. He has left us descriptions of the city of Cambalue later known as Pekin, of Kinsai in the South which later became Hangchow and of the Khan's summer palaces at Shandu or Xanadu the subject of Coleridge's dream poem. While Marco was engaged in these missions his father and uncle—true Venetians—travelled over Kubla's empire and carried on trade particularly in jewels in which they were connoisseurs. In this way they went on amassing wealth and knowledge for seventeen years till as age crept over them they felt an urge to see Venice once more, and all three of them probably felt that though while Kubla was alive they were secure, should the now elderly Khan die, in the words of Exodus a new king might arise who knew not Joseph, and they

might well suffer the penalties which are ever liable to attach to favourites when their protector is gone. They accordingly asked the Khan's permission to return to their native land, but the old ruler was most unwilling to accede to their request, until an accidental circumstance fortunate for them, paved the way for their departure. It happened in this way. In 1286 Argun Khan of Persia another of the great Mongol rulers in Asia lost his favourite wife Bolgana, and by her dying wish sent ambassadors to Kubla Khan asking for another bride of Mongol stock. The overland journey from Pekin to Persia was a hazardous one, doubly so on account of the outbreak of a war in Central Asia, and at the urgent request of the ambassadors who wished, for safety's sake, to return by sea, Kubla reluctantly consented to the three Polos who were experienced sea travellers returning with the bridal party. They set sail early in 1292 from China and proceeding by Sumatra, Ceylon and South India reached Persia in some two years' time, to find that the prospective bridegroom Argun had meanwhile died. A wedding nevertheless took place as it was satisfactorily arranged by the regent of Persia that the lady should marry Argun's son. Their mission thus performed, the Venetians proceeded on their homeward journey saddened on the way by the news of the death of their friend and protector Kubla which was said to have cast shadow over Asia—and passing through Tabris, Trebizond and Constantinople arrived at last at Venice at the end of 1295 after an absence of nearly a quarter of a century. There is a strange legend unconfirmed by history that on their arrival at their home in Venice, they experienced the same fate as another great wanderer Ulysses, for nobody recognized in these travellers clad in Tartar garments the three Venetians who had long been given up for dead. No medieval High Court was however required to decide a prototype of the Bhowal case for as the story goes, the travellers ripped open the seams and lining of their Tartar coats and disclosed a great store of precious stones, rubies, sapphires, carbuncles and diamonds probably the best possible arguments they could have adduced to the citizens who haunted the Rialto. The Polos were then recognized and accepted, and continued to live in Venice surrounded by the halo of the strangest journey in the world. Naturally they indulged in travellers' tales and Marco whose fertile wits made him a born story-teller, used to speak of the vastness of Kubla's dominions, with their millions of towns, millions of horsemen and millions of ships, and thereby fairly earned the nickname of Marco Milione, or Million Marco and in due course the courtyard of the house where he lived became known as the Corte Milione.

This may well be legend but Marco's place in history was not

quite finished. About three years after his return, war by sea broke out between Venice and Genoa her great rival city on the other side of the Italian mainland, and Marco Polo ever keen for adventure joined the Venetian fleet as gentleman commander of a galley. The rival fleets met near Curzola, an island off the Dalmatian coast, and in her own home waters the pride of Venice was laid low. Sixty-eight Venetian ships were destroyed and seven thousand prisoners taken by the victorious Genoese; among these prisoners was Marco. Even in these straits however the story of his travels stood him in good stead, for the enterprising citizens of the seaport which afterwards produced Columbus, hearing somehow of Marco's adventures flocked in great numbers, gallants, ladies and all, to hear of the great Khan, the Islands of Spice and other marvels in Marco's prison. It was to these fore-runners of our discussion meetings that we owe the written account of Marco's travels for a fellow prisoner from Pisa, Rusticiano by name, conceived the idea of embodying the tales, as Marco told them, in a narrative form and giving them to the world as the Book of Ser Marco Polo.

This was the culmination of his life for not long after Rusticiano had gathered the materials for his book, Marco was released from prison, and returned to live for many more years at home in the city of Venice during which time we hear nothing more remarkable of him than that he married and became the father of three daughters, that he had a Tartar servant named Peter and that when he died in 1324 he left a will which is still preserved in the Library of S' Marks.

He left however more than a will behind him: he left an imperishable memory of a journey whose truth was stranger than fiction, whose example has stimulated travellers, and whose story has delighted readers throughout the civilized world.

L. R. Fawcus.

ANCIENT HISTORIC SITES OF BENGAL

Bengal contains many ancient historic sites. An attempt has been made here to give a brief account of some of them which have been arranged according to the districts to which they belong.

Viṣṇupura: Viṣṇupura is in the Bankura District in West Bengal. It is a centre of music culture. For many centuries it had been the capital of the Malla rājās who gave the name of Mallabhūmi or the land of wrestlers to the country ruled by them. The Mallabhūmi comprised the whole of the modern district of Bankura and parts of the adjoining districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, Manbhum and Singhbhum. Ādi Malla was the first king who was noted for his great skill in wrestling and archery. Raghunātha who was the founder of the Malla dynasty of Viṣṇupura was born while his parents were on their way to the sacred temple of Jagannath at Puri built by Anantavarman Chodaganga (1070-1147 A.D.). He defeated the neighbouring chiefs of Pradyumnapura (in the Joypore Police Station) which he made as his seat of government. The royal ensign of the rulers of Mallabhūmi bore the device of a serpent's hood because Raghunāth is said, according to tradition, to have been shaded by two huge cobras with their hoods spread over his head. The cobra's hood carved in stone is even now worshipped in that place under the name of Daṇḍeśvarī. The Hindu rājās of Viṣṇupura were the rulers of a great portion of western Bengal long before the Mahommedan conquest by Bukhtiar Khilji. Jagat Malla, a ruler of Viṣṇupura, removed the capital from Pradyumnapura to Viṣṇupura. The Rājās of Viṣṇupura were Siva[1] worshippers. The temple dedicated to Malleśvara Mahādeva which is considered to be the oldest shrine, is still found there. The rājās afterwards became the ardent worshippers of Mṛṇmayī (an aspect of Śakti)[2] whose temple still stands there. The worship of Dharma[3] which Ramāi Paṇḍit[4] introduced, became very popular at Viṣṇupura. The celebrated Bengali Mathematician Śubhaṅkara Rāya lived under the Malla kings who were great patrons of learning.

[1] Siva is the third god of the Hindu Triad, the other two being Brahmā the Creator and Viṣṇu, the preserver; the destroying and reproducing deity (creator, destroyer and regenerator).

[2] Active power of a deity.

[3] Dharmadeva, God of Justice.

[4] Author of the Śūnya Purāṇa and Śūnyapūjāpaddhati. He was an exponent of Dharma cult in Bengal. Some hold that doggerel verses were composed soon after the Muhammedan conquest. He was a contemporary of Dharmapāla II who ruled Gauḍa at the beginning of the 11th century A.D.

The city of Viṣṇupura is named after the god Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu was the deity of the royal house at the time of Bir Hāmir in the 16th century A.D., who was a great supporter of Vaiṣṇavism. The large stone-gateway of Viṣṇupura fort built by Bir Singh[1] and the great cannon called Dalmardan or Dalmadal may be attributed to him. Many Vaiṣṇava manuscripts were received by him and in quest of them, Śrīnivāsācārya came to Viṣṇupura.

The magnificent temple of Rāsmañca was built by Bir Hāmir. Among the later shrines, mention may be made of the following:

Temples of Śyāma Rāi, Kālācand, Murali Mohan, Madan Gopal, Madan Mohan, Rādhā Śyām, Lāljeu, and Joḍbāṅglā. The temple of Lāljeu was built in 1658 A.D. by Bir Singh, son of Raghunāth, founder of the Malla dynasty of Viṣṇupura. The deity of Madan Mohan was sold to the Mitra family of Bāghbāzār, Calcutta.

The Dalmardan cannon which is 12 ft. 5 inches long, the diameter of the bore being 11½ inches at the muzzle, was a very strongly made cannon at a cost of Rs. 1 lakh 25 thousand. It is free from rust although exposed to all weathers and it has got a black polished surface. It was used when Viṣṇupur was attacked by a Mahratta Chief named Bhāskar Paṇḍita in 1742 A.D.

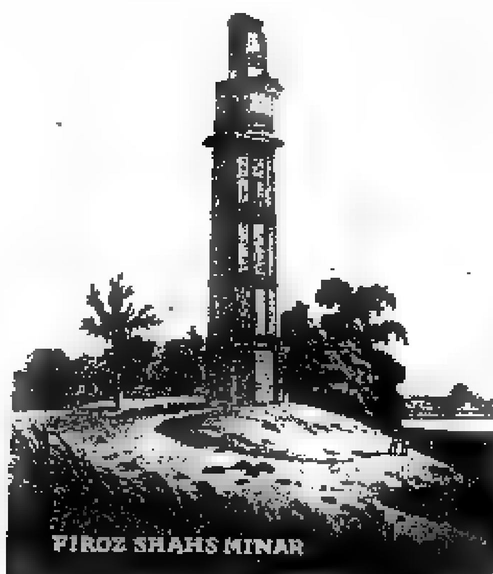
The temples of Viṣṇupura are mostly square buildings with a curved roof having a small tower in the centre. Some of them have towers in four corners of the roof. The temple is called *Pañcaratna*, i.e., five-towered or *Navaratna* or nine-towered. The Śyāma Rāi temple is one of the oldest temples of the *Pañcaratna type* in Bengal. Some of the temples at Viṣṇupura contain scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata on their walls.

Susunia hill: Another site of historic importance in the district of Bankura is the village of Pokharna or Puṣkaraṇa on the Dāmodar river, about 25 miles east of the Susunia hill, which was the seat of administration of a ruler named Candravarman, as far as can be gathered from an inscription on the hill.

Kenduli: It is a village also called Kendwa Billa or Jayadeva Kenduli in the Bolpur Thana of the Suri sub-division in the Birbhum district. It is situated on the north bank of the river Ajay, a few miles west of Ilambazar and about 22 miles south of Suri. It is famous as the birth place of the great Sanskrit poet Jayadeva who flourished in the 12th century A.D. He composed the well-known Gītagovinda, a Sanskrit lyric, in praise of Rādhā and Krishṇa. The body of Jayadeva was buried and not burnt after his death and his tomb still stands at Kenduli. In the middle of January, a fair is held there every year in his honour.

[1] The Kṣatriya title of Singh was granted by a moslem prince Sujah.

PLATE 5



FIROZ SHAHS MINAR

DALMARDAN CANNON

PLATE 6

Tāmralipti (Tamluk) : It is situated in the district of Midnapore. Tāmralipti or Damalipti is called a city of Suhma according to the Daśakumāracarita (Chap. V). The Epics, Purāṇas and Buddhist works mention this town. It was a great maritime port and an emporium of commerce from the 4th century B.C. to the 12th century A.D. The temple of Bārga-Bhīmā mentioned in the Brahmapurāṇa which was an ancient vihāra (monastery), now exists in the town. The temple of Binduvāsinī was situated at Tāmralipti which was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fā-Hien in the 5th century A.D. and Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A.D. This temple has been mentioned by Daṇḍī in his Daśakumāracarita, who flourished in the 6th century A.D. Hiuen Tsang saw a stūpa (dagoba) of Aśoka near this town. I-tsing, another Chinese pilgrim, resided here in the Baràha monastery. The present temple of Hari is said to have been built some 600 years after the destruction of the ancient temple of Binduvāsinī by the action of the river Rūpnārāyaṇa.

Navadvīpa : The present railway station of Navadvīpaghāṭ is 8 miles from the town of Kṛṣṇanagar in the district of Nadia. To the west of this place on the other side of the Ganges, stands the town of Navadvīpa, which is a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas.[1] It is so called because it is a combination of nine islands. It is the birth place of Caitanya, who was born here in 1485. He preached the doctrine of universal love (love to all beings). Buddha also preached it. So did Mahāvīra—love, love towards the suffering world, love towards the happy and love towards the distressed and fallen. At the age of 24, Caitanyadeva, the great founder of new Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, left Navadvīpa, and lived the life of a hermit. Ballālasena is said to have built a palace here and the ruins of this palace, known as *Ballāladhipi* (400 ft. long and about 30 ft. high), are found on the eastern coast of the Ganges, half a mile to the north of the present Māyāpura. Some portions of this *Dhipi* on the west side have been washed away by the Ganges. A court of justice was established there by Aśokasena, grandson of Lakṣmaṇasena and great-grandson of Ballālasena. At one time it was a great centre of Sanskrit learning and the home of many learned men, *e.g.*, Bāsudeva Sārvabhauma (a well-known logician), Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (an exponent of new logic in Bengal), Raghunandan Bhaṭṭācārya (founder of the Dāyabhāga School of Hindu Law) and Krishnānanda Āgamabāgish (a Tāntrik scholar). Four learned men, *e.g.*, Halāyudha, Paśupati, Śulapāṇi and Udayanācārya

[1] A sect in Bengal founded by Caitanya who was regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Krishṇa. His chief doctrine is that of *bhakti* or *love*.

(philosopher) flourished during the time of Lakṣmaṇasena. It is still a sacred place to the Hindus.

Śāntipura: In the district of Nadia stands Śāntipura on the Ganges. It is the abode of the celebrated Vaiṣṇava reformer Advaitācārya, a contemporary and admirer of Śrī Caitanyadeva. It contains the temples of Madanagopāla, Madanamohana, Kālācānd, Śyāmacānd, etc. Here the celebrated teacher Advaita used to practise penances.

About 4 miles from Śāntipura stands the present village of Phuliyā which is 9 miles from Rāṇāghāṭ, and 54 miles from Calcutta. It is the birth place of the Bengali poet Kṛttivāsa, the author of the Bengali Rāmāyaṇa. The well-known Muslim follower of Caitanyadeva, Yavana Haridāsa, spent his days here in religious practices. To quote Kṛttivāsa—

'Grāmaratna Phuliyā jagata bākhāni dakṣiṇa paścime vahe Gaṅgā taraṅginī.'

It was prosperous at the time of Kṛttivāsa when the Ganges flowed on its south and west. It reminds one of the famous lines written on the Memorial pillar raised at the site:

'Hethā dvijottama Ādi Kavi Baṅgālār bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇakār
Kṛttivāsa lavilā janam,
surabhita sukavitve Phuliyār puṇyatīrthe
He pathik, sambhrame praṇama.'

The sum and substance is this: "Oh traveller! respectfully bow down before this sacred place of Phuliyā where was born the composer of the Bengali Rāmāyaṇa, who was the best of the brahmins and the foremost of the poets.

Plassey: The Palāśī Railway station in the district of Nadia is 96 miles from Calcutta. The famous battle-field of Plassey is is about 2 miles to the west of the Railway Station. The name of this place is derived from the Palāśa trees (Butea Frondosa, Colour green) which were plenty there. The British under Lord Clive defeated the army of Siraj-ud-daula, the last independent muslim ruler of Bengal, in the mango-grove of the historic battle-field on the 23rd June 1757 A.D. This battle has been ably described in verses in the Bengali language in the famous book of Nabin Chandra Sen, entitled *Palāśīr Yuddha*. About 4 or 5 miles from *Palāśī*, we find the tomb of Mir Madan,[1] the general of Siraj-ud-daula.

[1] The poet describes his death thus:

'Chuṭila chil goḷā raktimavarṇa, viṣama lāgila pāye.
Sei sāṅghātik ghāye bhūtale hailā Mīrmadan patan.'

He fell in the battle-field after having received a serious wound in his leg.

Ādi-Saptagrām : The remains of ancient Saptagrām are found near the present railway station called Ādi-Saptagrām, about 27 miles from Calcutta. Saptagrām was an important city and a port. It is so called because the seven sons of king Priyavrata became sages after practising penances there. This place is frequently mentioned in the mediaeval Bengali texts, e.g., *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* of Mukundarāma, *Manasāmaṅgala* of Bipradāsa, *Caṇḍī* of Mādhavācārya. It is also mentioned in the *Pavanadūtam* written by Dhoyī, the court poet of Lakṣmaṇasena. It lost its importance as a port owing to the silting of the river-bed of the Sarasvatī. In the 9th century A.D. Saptagrām was ruled by a powerful Buddhist king named Paramabhaṭṭāraka Śrī Śrī Rūpnārāyaṇ Sinha. The Egyptian traveller, Ibn Batuta, came here in the 13th century A.D. Saptagrām, the metropolis of Rādha or western Bengal, was later conquered by Jafar Khan whose tomb is still found at Triveṇī. Many coins of Muslim rulers, *e.g.*, Sher Shah and Husen Shah have been found here. During the rule of Alauddin Husen Shah of Gauḍa, it was called Husenabad and was the seat of an imperial mint. In the 16th century A.D., a Hindu chief named Rājivalocana conquered it from Sulaiman, the Sultan of Gauḍa. It is the birthplace of the author of the Caṇḍī.[1] We get a glimpse of its prosperity from Bankimchandra's *Kapālkuṇḍalā* and H. P. Shāstrī's *Bener Meye*. It is a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas being the home of Uddhāraṇa Datta, a follower of Caitanyadeva. Nityānanda, the righthand man of Caitanya, spent many years in this locality. A mosque and a few tombs are still found here.

Vaṃśavāṭī : It is in the district of Hooghly where there are the temples of Viṣṇu, Kālī (Svayambhava), Haṃseśvarī (an aspect of Durgā) and Vāsudeva. The temple of Viṣṇu is the oldest. The temple of Haṃseśvarī was built in 1814.

Triveṇī : It is 5 miles from the present Bandel Junction Station. It is a sacred place of the Hindus, situated at the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the Bhāgīrathī. The site is ancient as it is found mentioned in Dhoyī's Pavanadūtam, a work of the 12th century A.D. The Muslim historians call it Tirpani or Firozabad as Firoz Shah, Sultan of Bengal, lived here for sometime. During the Muslim period it was an important city and a port. The mediaeval Bengali poet Mukundarāma mentions it as a sacred place much frequented by the pilgrims. It was once a centre of Sanskrit learning. Here we find the tomb of Jafar Khan, the conqueror of Saptagrām, and close by there is a mosque with the maxims of Holy Quoran written

[1] It describes the greatness of Durgā (Devīmāhātmya).

on it. The tomb of Jafar Khan was built over a Hindu shrine containing some inscribed scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.

Mahānād : It is in the district of Hooghly and it can be reached by Magra-Tarkeswar Light Railway. It was once the capital of Western Bengal. Mahānād contains the ruins of ancient palaces, old Hindu temples and old tanks. According to tradition it was the seat of king Candraketu, the ruins of whose *gaḍ* (moat) are still found there. The temple of Dvāravāsinī, old ponds, *e.g.*, Jiyatkuṇḍa Pāpaharaṇakuṇḍa and Sāt Satiner Dīghi are found here. Near the old Śaiva temple of Jaṭeśvaranātha we find some tombs. The Jāmāi-Jāṅgal Road, the Vaśiṣṭhagaṅgā and the Jiyatkuṇḍa are noteworthy.

Pāṇḍuyā : It is situated at a distance of 38 miles from Calcutta. It is commonly known as Peḍo. It is in the Hooghly District and is quite distinct from Pāṇḍuyā of the Malda District. In the 18th century A.D. Samsuddin Isuf Shah, king of Gauḍa, conquered this Hindu kingdom of Pāṇḍuyā. It contains many Hindu temples. An ancient Hindu temple dedicated to Sun-God was converted into a mosque. This place also contains damaged mosques and a minar which is 127 ft. high. There are two tanks here by the name of Joḍāpukur and Pīrpukur. Every year in the months of January and April fairs are held and many people bathe in the Pīrpukur, the water of which is considered to be sacred.

Kāṭwā (Kāṭadvīpa) : It is in the district of Burdwan, and a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas because here Caitanyadeva, at the age of 24, became a hermit and shaved his hair.

Jhāmatpura : Four miles to the north of Kālwā there is a village called Jhāmatpur. It was the dwelling place of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāj, the celebrated author of the Śrī-Caitanya Caritāmṛta.[1]

Kālnā : It is in the district of Burdwan and is considered to be a very sacred place to the Hindus because it was the abode of the famous Vaiṣṇava saints, Sūryadāsa, Gaurīdāsa, Jagannāthadāsa and Bhagavāndāsa. It is also famous as Ambikā-Kālnā.

Murshidābād : It is situated at a distance of 122 miles from Calcutta, on the bank of the River Bhāgīrathī. It was known to the ancients as Mukshudābād or Mukshusābād. It was the capital of the last independent ruler of Bengal. This city was well-built by Nawab Murshidkuli Khan who was then the viceroy (Subedar)

[1] It is a famous book of the Vaiṣṇavas of India. It is a monument of Hindu genius as a work on philosophy and literature. Much has been written in this book on Vaiṣṇava philosophy.

of Bengal. At one time this city was adorned with many magnificent buildings and palaces. It was an extensive city, populous and prosperous. The following are the noteworthy things there:

(1) Imāmbārā,[1] which was built by Nawab-Nazim Mansur Ali, 680 ft. long;
(2) Moti Jhil, which contains a beautiful garden, now in ruins;
(3) Hāzārduārī, which was the old palace of the Nawab, a massive structure;
(4) Katra Musjid;
(5) Tomb of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan who became the Nawab of Murshidābād for one year after the death of Suja Khan;
(6) Tripolia Gate;
(7) Jahankosha Cannon also called Jagaljayī (conqueror of the world)—a very big Cannon, 18 ft. long, made in 1637 A.D.;
(8) Topkhana, which was built by Murshidkuli Khan close to the Katra Musjid; and
(9) Nizamat-Adalat and Sadar Dewani Adalat; no trace of them is now found, on the ruins of these a beautiful palace with a delightful garden has been built.

On the other side of the Ganges flowing through the town of Berhampore stands the tomb of Nawab Shiraz-ud-daula.

Rāṅgāmāṭī: It is situated in the District of Murshidābād as distinct from Rāṅgāmāṭī of the Chittagong Hill tracts. The site of Rāṅgāmāṭī in Murshidābād lies on the western coast of the Ganges, a mile and a half to the southeast of Chiruti, a Railway Station, 84 miles from Bandel. The soil of this place is red and hard and offers a clue to the name of this place. According to some the name is derived from Raktamṛtti or Raktabhitti (lo-to-wei-chi), the name of an old Buddhist monastery which the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang found in Karṇasuvarṇa in the 7th century A.D. Rāṅgāmāṭī is thus believed to have been the site of Karṇasuvarṇa. Many coins of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta ages, a few mounds of bricks and clay called *Ṭhākurbāḍī Ḍāṅgā* containing a big Śiva temple, *Rākṣasī Ḍāṅgā*, *Rājbāḍī Ḍāṅgā*, where the palace was situated, *Sannyāsī Ḍāṅgā* and a few tanks like *Yamunā Puṣkariṇī*, *Pir Pukur*, etc. are found there. *The Rākṣasī Ḍāṅgā* looked like a small hill. A Hindu

[1] It contains the *tāziā* which is the symbolical representation of the mosque of Hasan-Husain.

deity made up of stone with eight hands called *Mahisamardini*[1] has been discovered here. The site now contains many marshes.

Pāhāḍpur : The ruins of Pāhāḍpur are situated at a distance of 3 miles to the west of the Jamalganj Railway Station (B. & A. Ry.) in the District of Rajshahi. The huge mound of bricks, 80 ft. in height, that stands at Pāhāḍpur probably gave rise to the name of this place as it looked like a rock. Somapura was its ancient name. Situated at a distance of about 30 miles to the northwest of Mahāsthān or ancient Puṇḍravardhana and southeast of Bāngaḍ or ancient Koṭivarṣa, there stood an old Buddhist monastery now in ruins. Pāhāḍpur monastery resembles such great monasteries as Barabudur[2] and Prambanam monasteries in Java and Angkorvat monastery[3] in Cambodia. In the Buddhist vihāra at Pāhāḍpura we find a square sanctuary with many chambers each having a courtyard in front and a small portico. A high altar is found probably meant for religious worship.

To the east of this sanctuary we find a little stūpa (shrine containing a relic, dagoba) called *Satyapirer bhiṭā* where we find a temple of *Tārā*.[4] The Pāhāḍpura monastery was built in the 8th century A.D. under the Pāla kings of Bengal. The terracotta plaques on the walls of the monastery contain the tales of the *Pañcatantra*[5] and the *Hitopadeśa*. The stone images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, some lovely figures telling the stories of the life of Kṛṣṇa, slaying of Dhenukāsura,[6] holding of Mt. Govardhana by Śrīkṛṣṇa are found here. The Epic and Paurāṇic scenes like the fight of Bālī and Sugrīva, the death of Bālī, the abduction of Subhadrā, etc. are also found. In the 5th century A.D., there was a Jain temple at Pāhāḍpura. The famous Tibetan Buddhist scholar, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna,[7] is said to have spent many years under his teacher Ratnākara Śānti in the Somapura mahāvihāra.

Khetud : A village in the district of Rajshahi. It was visited by Caitanya in the 16th century A.D. A temple has been built here to commemorate his visit.

[1] Durgā, the killer of the demon Mahiṣa.

[2] See *The Life of the Buddha on the Stūpa of Bārābudur* by Dr. Krom.

[3] See *Indian Architecture, (Buddhist and Hindu)* by Percy Brown.

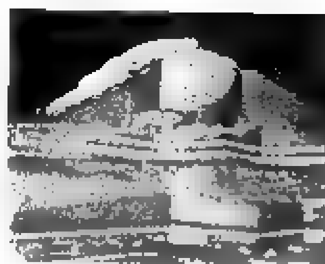
[4] Personification of Prajñāpāramitā or perfection of wisdom and consort of Avalokiteśvara, a Mahāyāna Bodhisattva.

[5] A collection of moral tales written in Sanskrit.

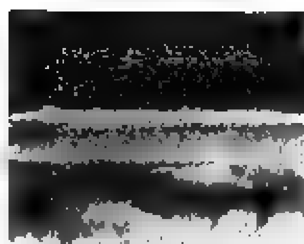
[6] The demon Dhenuka was killed by Balarāma, brother of Krishna, when he became very turbulent at Brindāban in the District of Muttra, U.P.

[7] Went to Tibet. He belonged to East Bengal. Author of *Caryāgīti* and *Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna-gītikā*, etc.

PLATE 2

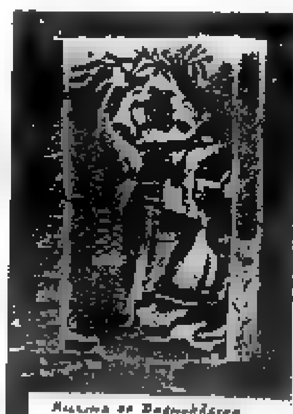


[illegible]



Ruins of Rāngāmāti

[illegible]

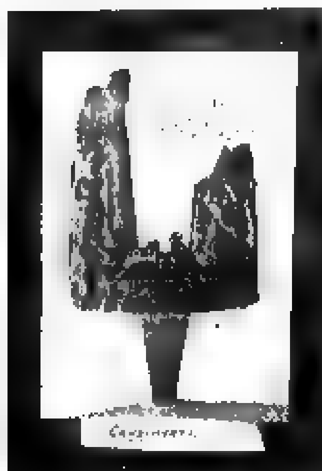


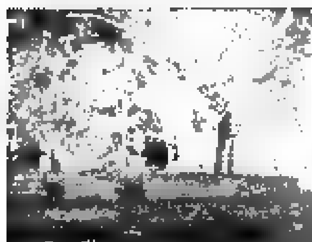
[illegible]

Eklākhi – Panduyā.

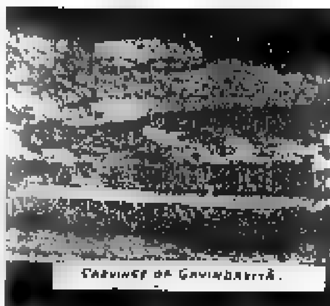
PLATE I

Temple of [illegible].





Seat of meditation of [illegible]



Carvings of [illegible].

Mahāsthānagarh: The present ruins of Mahāsthān or Mahāsthāngarh lie 7 miles north of the modern town of Bogra. Cunningham identifies this site with the ancient city of Puṇḍravardhana, the name of which occurs in a Brahmanic inscription of the Maurya age. During the 4th, 5th and the 6th centuries A.D., when India was ruled by the Imperial Guptas, Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti was a Gupta province under a Viceroy who had the title of *Uparika*. The river Karatoyā which still washes the base of the mounds of Mahāsthān separated it from the more easterly kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa in Assam. Puṇḍravardhana was visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A.D. According to him this country was more than 4000 li in circuit and its capital more than 30 li.[1] To the west of the capital there was a magnificent Buddhist establishment and near it stood an Asoka tope. The city lost its importance from the third quarter of the 12th century A.D., for the later Sena kings of Bengal shifted their capital first to Deopārā in the Rajshahi district and later to Gauḍa in the Maldah district. Towards the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century A.D. Puṇḍravardhana was occupied by the Mahommedans. There was a village called Vāsu Vihāra, 4 miles to the west of Mahāsthān, which, according to Cunningham, was the site of the well-known monastery called Po-shi-po, by the Chinese pilgrim.

The following are the important things found at Mahāsthān: a battered Jain statue, ruins of Hindu and Buddhist shrines, and later tombs and mosques. The images of *Caṇḍī*, *Gaṇeśa* and the carvings of *Govinda-bhiṭā* are noteworthy.

Bāngaḍ: The ruins of Bāngaḍ or Bānnagara are found on the eastern bank of the river Punarbhavā, one and a half mile to the north of Gaṅgārāmpur which is 18 miles south of Dinajpur. The region round modern Gaṅgārāmpur was called Damdamā during the muslim period and it may be identical with Koṭikapura or ancient Devkot, the capital of Koṭīvarṣa in northern Bengal. Bāngaḍ, according to tradition, was the site of the fortified town of the demon king Bāṇa whose wife Kālārāṇī is said to have a tank dug called *Kāladighi* at Gaṅgārāmpur. Besides there are other tanks such as *Tāldighi* and *Dhaladighi*. Of the ancient buildings and monuments we have no trace at present. A Kamboja king of Gauḍa built a temple of Śiva. According to the copper plate inscription of king Mahīpāla I, discovered at Bāngaḍ, Mahīpāla regained his lost paternal kingdom. Some of the old relics of Bāngaḍ are now kept in the Dinajpur palace. Here we find a richly carved stone

[1] Li, a Chinese mile, more than 1/3rd of an English mile.

pillar made of touch-stone, a Śiva temple and a Buddhist caitya (shrine) of about the 11th century A.D.

Tarpaṇghāṭ : An important village in the district of Dinajpur. Here Vālmiki, the celebrated author of the Rāmāyaṇa, practised penances. Nearby there is a brick built stūpa known as Sitākoṭ.

Gauḍa : It was the capital of Bengal during the Hindu and Muslim periods. According to some the name is derived from Guḍa, *i.e.*, molasses as Gauḍa was formerly a trading centre of molasses. The ruins of Gauḍa lie at a distance of ten miles to the south-west of the modern town of Malda. It was an ancient town[1] as its name occurs in the Epics and the Purāṇas. It was the capital of Devapāla, Mahendrapāla, Adisura, Ballālasena and the Mahomedan rulers up to about the end of the 16th century A.D. It formed a part of the kingdom of the Imperial Guptas during the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries A.D. There is no trace at present of Rāmāvatī, the capital of ancient Gauḍa under the Pāla rulers. It lay several miles to the north of the present site of the ruins of Gauḍa near the river Kālindī. Lakṣmaṇāvatī or Laknauti[2] which was built by king Lakṣmaṇasena was the later capital of Gauḍa under Sena and Muslim rulers. King Ballālasena built a castle at Gauḍa which goes by the name of *Ballālabāḍī* or *Ballālabhiṭā*. The ruins of this fort are found at Shāhdullāpur. One of the biggest tanks in Bengal known as *Sāgaradighi* is attributed to him. Near the present site of Gauḍa stands the ancient village of Rāmakelī which was visited by Caitanyadeva. The abodes of Rūpa and Sanātana,[3] the Rūpasāgara tank, the Kadamba tree, some wells known as Rādhākuṇḍa, Śyāmakuṇḍa, Lalitākuṇḍa, Viśākhākuṇḍa and the ancient temple of Madanamohana are now found there. There is another village called Khalimpur near the site of Gauḍa. A copper plate inscription of king Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal has been discovered here. The following relics of the Muslim age are noteworthy :

[1] Now in ruins. The poet says:

"Yethā mantrigaṇa saṅge vasitena dhīr.
tathā pheruguli phire phire phukāre gabhīr."

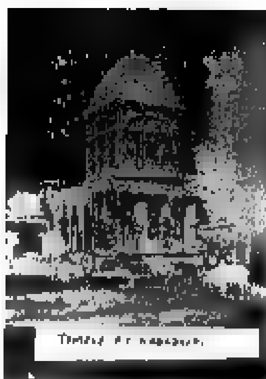
'Where the lord of Gauḍa used to sit with his ministers, the jackals are now roaming about there loudly crying.' This shows that the place was a deserted one when the poet wrote these lines.

[2] Now in ruins. Every brick of the temple here is sacred both to the Hindus and Moslems of Bengal.

[3] They were the disciples of Caitanya who were sent by him to Vṛndāban to preach the doctrine of loving faith and to discover the holy places where Śrī Kṛṣṇa engaged himself in *līlā* or sports.

PLATE 3

TEMPLE OF VĀSUDEVA



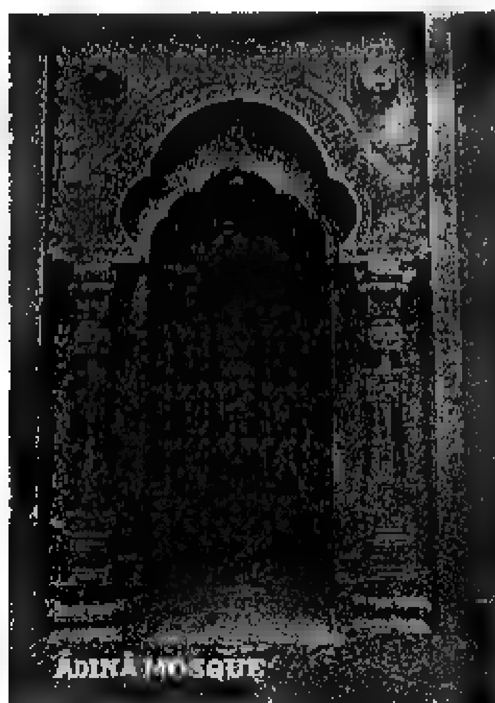
Temple of [illegible]

Jafar Khan Mosque.

[illegible] Datta.

SONĀ MOSQUE.

PLATE 4



1. Jan Jan Miah mosque built by Sultan Giyasuddin Mahmud Shah ;
2. The Dakhil darwājā or the gate of the ancient muslim fort of Gauḍa, now in ruins, which has a well-built stone wall, 60 ft. high and 8 ft. wide.
3. The well-known Sonā mosque (Bārduārī)—a square building built of stone.
4. Ruins of Hāveli Khās (or the ancient capital).
5. Tomb of Sultan Husain Shah built of coloured bricks.
6. Feroze minar (high and massive structure)—84 ft. high and its staircase has 73 round steps. One can have a good view of the ruins of Gauḍ from the top of this minar.
7. Kadam Rasul mosque built by Sultan Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah in the 16th century A. D., containing a big dome, 4 minarets of black stone and footprints of the Prophet. The door of the chamber inside the mosque is built of wood and there is a big wooden box inside the chamber.
8. Chikā mosque.
9. The famous Loton mosque built of various coloured enamelled bricks (white, green, blue and yellow)

There are other noteworthy objects, *e.g.*, the temples of Gauḍeśvarī, Jahurāvāsinī, Śiva—the manaskāmanā deity,[1] Ramābhiṭā and Pātālacaṇḍī.

Pāṇḍuyā : The ruins of Pāṇḍuyā, which was the first independent kingdom of Bengal in the Muslim age lie to the east of the river Mahānandā in the district of Māldā. A clear trace of Hindu relics is found at Pāṇḍuyā in a dilapidated culvert with images of Hindu deities beneath it. Many remains of the Muslim age are found at this site, e.g. Selāmi-Dargā, Āśāneśhī Dargā, Baisk-Hāzārī-Dargā, Eklākhī[2] and Sonā mosques, and the Adinā mosque which is the most famous. The Adinā mosque is bigger than the Hughli Imāmbārā, 500 ft. long, 300 ft. wide, and 60 ft. high. There is an altar inside. It is one of the finest specimens of Muslim architecture of Bengal. This mosque is situated at a distance of 3 miles from Pāṇḍuyā station and 6 miles from old Māldā.

Vikramapura: It lies in the Munshiganj sub-division of Dacca. A portion of it is included in the Faridpur District. The name

[1] The deity who fulfils human desires.

[2] It is a very big tomb with a big dome on the top. Many Hindu and Buddhist images are found on the main entrance door, on the south side, built of black marble.

Vikramapura is generally applied to the tract of country bounded by the Dhaleśvarī on the north, the Idilpur parganā on the south, the Maghnā on the east, and the Padmā on the west. The name of this place is derived from a king named Vikrama who ruled it for sometime. Rāmapāla, the ancient capital of Vikramapura, lay 3 miles west of Munshiganj. The name Śrī Vikramapura occurs in the Śītāhāṭī Copper Plate Inscription of Ballālasena. A copper plate inscription of the Buddhist king Śrī Candradeva of the Candra dynasty has been discovered here. Rāmapāla, the birth-place of Śīlabhadra, the principal of the famous Buddhist University of Nālandā, was the eastern headquarters of the Hindu kings of Bengal for sometime. The ruins of a palace called *Ballālabāḍi*, many ancient ponds called *Rāmapāladīghi*, *Ballāladīghi*, etc., and many Hindu and Buddhist deities of the Pāla period have been found at Vikramapura. To the north of Rāmapāla in a village a mosque of Adam Sahid is found. The village of Vajrayoginī lying on the southwest corner of Rāmapāla was the birth place of the Buddhist savant, Dīpankara Śrījñāna, who was born in the 10th century A.D.

Maināmati and Lālmāi ranges: Maināmāti is about 6 miles west of the present town of Comilla. The Lālmāi and Maināmāti rocks are situated in the district of Tippera in East Bengal. The name Maināmāti is probably associated with Mayanāmati, the queen of Manik Candra, a king of the Candras, who ruled Bengal in the 10 and 11th centuries A.D. This queen and her son Gopicandra figure largely in Bengali folk-songs. Queen Mayanāmatī seems to have been a disciple of Goraknātha, a great Śaiva *yogī* (hermit), while her son was a disciple of a low caste *siddha* (perfected one). A copper plate inscription of the 18th century A.D. found at Maināmāti records the gift of a piece of land by the king Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva to a Buddhist monastery at Paṭṭikera. An officer of the royal groom is mentioned as embracing *Sahajayāna Buddhism*[1] at Paṭṭikera. A village of the Tippera district which extends up to the Maināmāti hills even now retains the name Pāṭikārā or Paitkārā. The existence of the kingdom of Paṭṭikera may be traced as far back as the 8th century A.D. It

[1] The *Sahajayāna* better *Sahajasiddhi* was the latest phase of Buddhism in eastern India. It arose as a protest against unnecessary rituals, excessive academic zeal, the *tantras*, *mantras*, *yantras*, *maṇḍalas* and other paraphernalia of the two earlier forms of Mahāyāna, namely, the *Bodhisattva naya* (the classical) and the *Agranaya* (the advanced). It advocated *Sahajasiddhi* as the quickest and the surest way of awakening in us the *Bodhicitta* which is the means of attaining *Bodhi* or enlightenment.

was situated in ancient Samataṭa. Coins similar to those of the Candra dynasty and terracotta plaques, with figures of Arakanese and Burmese men and women, have been found at Maināmāti. In these coins the name of Paṭikera occurs. It appears that there was an intimate relation between Burma and the kingdom of Paṭṭikera. Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva was a chieftain of this place while the Devas were then the independent rulers. The Paṭṭikeraka vihāra of the Pāla period was an important monastery. A mound at Maināmāti known as the ruins of *Ānanda Rājā's palace* seems to be a monastery. Some rulers of the Candra dynasty, *e.g.*, Śrī Candra, Gabinda Candra, Suvarṇa Candra, Pūrṇa Candra etc., mentioned in the inscriptions, ruled eastern and southern Bengal between A.D. 900 and 1060 with Rohitāgiri as their capital. Rohitāgiri probably included the present Lālmāi hills, 5 miles to the west of Comilla.

The naked stone image of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara (head of a sect) found at Maināmāti, shows the influence of Jainism in this region. The discovery of such deities as *Gaṇeśa*, *Hara-Gaurī*, *Vāsudeva*, shows the influence of Hinduism there. Of some mounds situated at Maināmāti, *Ānandarājā's palace*, *Bhojarājā's palace*, *Caṇḍimurā*, *Rūpavānimurā*, *Sālavarājā's palace* are noteworthy. In one of these mounds we find temples of *Śiva* and *Caṇḍī*. A square monastery like that at Pāhārpura existed there. The central temple contains on its walls projecting mouldings, lotus petals, etc. Many carved terracotta plaques which contain the figures of *Yakkhas*,[1] *Kimpurusas*,[2] *Gandharvas*,[3] *Vidyādharas*,[4] *Kinnaras*, *Buddha*, Padmapāṇi, warriors, animals, lotus flowers, etc., have been discovered. The potteries found there are mostly in ruins. Some small bronze images of the Buddha have also been found.

Candranāth: In the vicinity of Sītākuṇḍa there are the famous temples of Candranātha and Sambhunātha in the district of Chittagong, which are much frequented by pilgrims from all parts of Bengal. The peak of Chandranātha is regarded as a place beloved of Śiva. The shrine on the top of the hill contins a *liṅgam* or symbolical representation of Śiva and the ascent to it is said to

[1] They are supernatural beings, deities of varying rank. They are benevolent and are closely connected with vegetation, human fertility and wealth. They are essentially tree-spirits and they possess magic power. The cult of *Yakkhas* may be described as an early form of devotional Hinduism, perhaps going back to a period in history contemporary with the Vedas. The individual *Yakkhas* are for the most part local and tutelary deities.

[2] Wild men of the woods same as Kinnaras or heavenly nymphs.

[3] a class of demi gods, heavenly musicians.

[4] demi gods who are magicians.

redeem the pilgrim from the miseries of future births. The largest gathering takes place at the *Siva-caturdaśī* festival.

Sunderban: The forest region of Sunderban was formerly included in the kingdom of Samatata or Bagdī (Vyāghrataṭī). The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang saw many Hindu, Buddhist and Jain temples at Samatata in the 7th century A.D., but no trace of them has yet been found. Some decorated bricks, fragments of stone sculptures, coins of Skandagupta and Huvishka, an image of Sūrya and a *Navagraha slab* (a slab containing 9 planets), etc., have been discovered there.

B. C. LAW.

THREE MOGHUL LADIES

As Laurence Binyon has said, the story of the Moghuls in India is much more than a tale of invasion and conquest. "It begins as a superb adventure, it goes on to the solving of complex problems of government, of the reconciliation of races and religions; it culminates in the gradual consolidation of an empire. At the same time it is the story of a succession of vivid and brilliant personalities: Babur, the adventurous soldier, who swam every river he had to cross, lover of poetry and a poet himself, with his passions for flowers and gardens; Akbar, one of the greatest of all rulers, a man of extraordinary physical strength and courage, a mighty hunter, with sudden fits of tenderness to all creatures, illiterate, yet a lover of literature, deeply interested in religion and finding good in various faiths, far-sighted in resolve to identify himself with the country he had conquered and sharing his government with the Indians; Nur Jahan, the strong, ambitious wife of Jahangir, who in all but name ruled the empire for her pleasure-loving husband. Shah Jahan, the magnificent, who built the Taj Mahal as a tomb for his beloved. Dara Shakoh, deeply versed in religion and philosophy, but charming and frank in manner; and Aurangzeb, his brother, the superb dissimulator, the great captain and austere fanatic, by whom he met his death."

To such an epoch in history belong three great ladies whose personalities helped to shape the destinies of their age. It was an age in which royalty was paramount. A splendour that has become legendary invested the throne. To the pomp and panoply which surrounded it, to the grace, the dignity, and the colour of the life which revolved like a constellation around it, to the wit and culture, to the lavishness in display which distinguished the court at Agra and Shahjahanabad, modern history provides no parallel unless it be in the court of Versailles at the very zenith of its glory in the reign of Louis XIV. There are indeed several points of similarity between the court of the Great Moghul and that of the Grand Monarque. These are noticeable not only in the physical emblems of magnificence which furnished the setting, but also in the mental and spiritual currents which inspired the life of both palace and camp. Palaces, gardens of surpassing loveliness, jewels and costumes worth the ransoms of princes, retinues of courtiers, gorgeous equipages, and powerful armies ever on the move; of these were compounded almost in equal measure the pageants of Shah Jahan and of Louis XIV. As with the French monarch so with the Moghul emperor, the great noblesse lived and had their being around the king, and glittering, were the figures which

stood about the throne. The same ceremony, courtesy, hospitality and flattery, the same tenacity and punctilliousness in the regular performance of religious rites, the same outpourings of elegant if shallow verse, the same extravaganc and ingenuity in the celebration of fetes and festivals, the same personal jealousies, hostilities and alliances, the same intrigue, and indeed almost the same ritual of daily life characterised the court in India and the court in France. Among the favoured of fortune who inhabited the royal suites, the great who were received in audience in the *diwan-i-khas*, and the larger concourse of the lesser nobility who assembled daily in the *diwani-i-am*, among those who waited on the king in his place, or accompanied him to camp, indeed among all who sunned themselves in the royal favour, there were many who were mean and scheming, slaves to personal ambition, who lived for self-aggrandisement alone. But a few there also were, cast in a finer mould, whose lofty ambitions were rendered loftier by the will to serve. They moved through life surrounded by elegance and honour, but they gave richly of themselves to both ruler and subject, in loyalty, generosity, charity and courage. Of these elect were three great ladies—Nur Jahan, consort of the Emperor Jahangir, who came to be in every sense Empress of India, Mumtaz Mahal, the queen of Shah Jahan whose love for her inspired the Taj where she was laid to rest, and Jahanara Begum, Shah Jahan's brilliant, beautiful and dearly beloved daughter, the Lady Bountiful of her day.

It is not easy to convey to the reader, whose cultural contacts with Muslim India, are few and slender, an adequate picture of the reality and quality of the lives of cultured Moghul women. The institution of purdah literally drops a veil which clouds the vision and distorts the subject. The very idea of purdah engenders in the imagination of the European who lives in the India of today, and especially he who sojourns in Bengal, the image of a frail female—sometimes it is a fat female, swaddled in a voluminous *sari* and loaded with ungainly ornaments—whose earthly existence is bounded by the kitchen on one side, and the nursery on the other. This pathetic figure, whose energies are entirely and continuously absorbed in the preparing of food and the care of offspring, haunts the cerebral processes of the enquirer and refuses to be banished. It therefore requires an effort beyond the ordinary to envisage as aught but legend, the truth which stares at us from the pages of history and of contemporary chronicle. Yet what is it that they tell, the historians and diarists, of the women of the Moghul Empire? Into their delicate hands power so frequently found its way, either voluntarily surrendered by lord, or cunningly sought and dexterously seized by lady. The grip of those hands was firm, and the

power was wielded with a sweep that was sure, and a strength that could both make and shatter. Whence came this capacity for power? Physical graces and feminine charm would not by themselves account for it. It had its roots in character and training. The life of the harem was as rich, as varied and as creative as that pursued by the male element in outer rooms, courtyards and council chambers. Its influence on the formation of character and the development of personality was never so manifest as in the accomplishments and achievements of the royal ladies of the Moghul regime.

The women of the House of Timur were learned in the lore of state-craft, and past-mistresses in the arts of diplomatic intrigue and wire-pulling, great nobles and courtiers often being no more than their pawns in a fascinating game of political manipulation. They accompanied their husbands on their campaigns, and from the backs of war elephants watched the tide of battle as it rose and fell. They even hunted and learned how to shoot. They loved gardens, and designed and laid out many of the most beautiful in northern India. They understood and patronised architecture, painting and music. They were learned in Arabic and Persian, widely read in oriental literature, and many of them were gifted writers. They permitted themselves to be painted, and the exquisite Moghul miniatures, which were till lately housed in the South Kensington Museum of Art, include likenesses of their unveiled and lovely faces. On state occasions they sometimes displayed themselves to the populace from the windows of the palaces. At windows also they received reports from, and issued orders to, their officers and stewards. They travelled widely attended by large retinues. Bernier gives a graphic and amusing description of one of these expeditions, and here it is in his own words :

"I cannot avoid dwelling on this pompous procession of the *Seraglio*. It strongly arrested my attention during the late march, and I feel delight in recalling it to my memory. Stretch imagination to its utmost limits, and you can conceive no exhibition more grand and imposing than when *Rauchenara Begum* mounted on a stupendous *Pegu* elephant, and seated in a *Mikdember* (meghdambhar), blazing with gold and azure, is followed by five or six other elephants with *Mikdembers* nearly as resplendent as her own, and filled with ladies attached to her household. Close to the princess are the chief eunuchs, richly adorned and finely mounted, each with a wand of office in his hand; and surrounding her elephant, a troop of female servants, *Tartars* and *Kachmerys* fantastically attired and riding handsome pad-horses. Besides these attendants are several eunuchs on horseback, accompanied by a multitude of *Pagys* or lackeys on foot with large canes, who advance a great way before the princess, both

to the right and to the left, for the purpose of clearing the road and driving before them every intruder. Immediately behind *Rauchenara Begum's* retinue appears a principal lady of the court, mounted and attended much in the same manner as the princess. This lady is followed by a third, she by a fourth, and so on, until fifteen or sixteen females of quality pass with a grandeur of appearance, equipage and retinue more or less proportionate to their rank, pay and office. There is something very impressive of state and royalty in the march of these sixty or more elephants; in their solemn, as it were, measured steps; in the splendour of the *Mikdembers* and the brilliant and innumerable followers in attendance: and if I had not regarded this display of magnificence with a sort of philosophical indifference, I should have been apt to be carried away by such flights of imagination as inspire most of the Indian poets, when they represent the elephants as conveying so many goddesses concealed from the vulgar gaze.

"Truely, it is with difficulty that these ladies can be approached, and they are almost inaccessible to the sight of man. Woe to any unlucky cavalier, however exalted in rank, who, meeting the procession, is found too near. Nothing can exceed the insolence of the tribes of eunuchs and footmen which he has to encounter, and they eagerly avail themselves of any such opportunity to beat a man in the most unmerciful manner. I shall not easily forget being once surprised in a similar situation, and how narrowly I escaped the cruel treatment that many cavaliers have experienced: but determined not to suffer myself to be beaten and perhaps maimed without a struggle, I drew my sword, and having fortunately a strong and spirited horse, I was enabled to open a passage, sword in hand, through a host of assailants and to dash across the rapid stream which was before me. It is indeed a proverbial observation in these armies that three things are to be carefully avoided: the first, getting among the choice and led horses, where kicking abounds; the second, intruding on the hunting ground; and the third a too near approach to the ladies of the *Seraglio* ......"

It is difficult to leave Bernier's fascinating chronicle without quoting one more passage which treats of the life of the ladies of the royal palace. It describes a sort of fun-fair that used to be held periodically for the diversion of the inmates of the harem:

"A whimsical kind of fair is sometimes held during these festivities in the *Mahale*, or royal seraglio: it is conducted by the handsomest and most engaging of the wives of the *Omrahs* and principal *Mansebdars*. The articles exhibited are beautiful brocades, rich embroideries of the newest fashion, turbans elegantly worked on cloth of gold, fine muslins worn by women of quality, and other

articles of high price. These bewitching females act the part of traders, while the purchasers are the King, the *Begums* or princesses, and other distinguished ladies of the seraglio. If any Omrah's wife happens to have a handsome daughter, she never fails to accompany her mother, that she may be seen by the king and become known to the *Begums*. The charm of this fair is the most ludicrous manner in which the king makes his bargains, frequently disputing to the value of a penny. He pretends that the good lady cannot possibly be in earnest, that the article is much too dear, that it is not equal to that he can find elsewhere, and that positively he will give no more than such a price. The woman, on the other hand, endeavours to sell to the best advantage, and when the king perseveres in offering what she considers too little money, high words frequently ensue, and she fearlessly tells him that he is a worthless trader, a person ignorant of the value of merchandise; that her articles are too good for him, and that he had better go where he can suit himself better, and similar jocular expressions. The *Begums* betray, if possible, a still greater anxiety to be served cheaply; high words are heard on every side, and the loud and scurrilous quarrels of the sellers and buyers create a complete farce. But sooner or later they agree upon the price, the princesses, as well as the king, buy right and left, pay in ready money, and often slip out of their hands, as if by accident, a few gold instead of silver *roupies*, intended as a compliment to the fair merchant or her pretty daughter. The present is received in the same unconscious manner, and the whole ends amid witty jests and good humour."

No figure in Indian history is invested with that aura of romance which surrounds Nur Jahan, the Queen of the Emperor Jahangir. No chapter in the life of Jahangir has aroused so much interest as that which relates to his union with Nur Jahan. For fifteen years she occupied a dominating position in the empire, and today stands forth as the most intriguing personality of her age.

Her early life is enveloped in a haze of myth and fable in which both European and Indian chroniclers have to some extent believed. But the historical facts are as follows:

Nur Jahan, whose early name was Mihr-un-Nisa (Sun of Womanhood), was the daughter of a Persian nobleman, one Mirza Ghayasuddin Beg, otherwise known as Ghyas Beg, who set out from Persia to seek his fortune. He travelled to India accompanied by his wife, two sons, and a daughter, in the caravan of a merchant called Malik Masud, who happened to be a personal friend of the Emperor Akbar. Misfortune followed Ghyas Beg, for he lost very nearly all he possessed during the course of the perilous journey. At Kandahar his wife gave birth to a daughter who was destined to be the Empress Nur Jahan. Malik Masud, the leader of the caravan, conceived a

great liking for Ghyas Beg, and took him, after their arrival in India, to Fatehpur Sikri, and there presented him to the Emperor. The result of this introduction was that Ghyas was admitted into the imperial service. He rapidly rose by ability and diligence to high rank and great influence. He was a man of learning and culture, a charming letter-writer, and brilliant conversationalist. His daughter, Mihr-un-Nisa, received the very best of educations, and grew up into a very accomplished and beautiful woman.

Mihr-un-Nisa's mother became one of the great ladies of the Court, and she and her daughter were frequent visitors in the Imperial harem. This fact has given rise to a widely accepted and picturesque story concerning the first meeting between Jahangir and Nur Jahan.

One of the ceremonies which took place at Akbar's Court was a festival which occurred once a month, known as the "Khushroz" or "Day of Joy". On this occasion all the merchants of the different bazaars in the capital, were invited to set up their stalls in one of the courtyards of the palace, and the Emperor who was in the habit of moving freely amongst the throng, would make purchases and encourage the merchants to tell him their views on trade and taxation. Invitations to attend the "Khushroz" were sent by the Emperor's ladies to the wives and families of all the nobles, and of course Asmat Bibi and her daughter were always asked. It was on one of these occasions that Mihr-un-Nisa went for a walk in the Imperial gardens, and there unexpectedly encountered Prince Salim as he was then called, for the first time. She tried to retreat, but Prince Salim who was carrying on his wrist a couple of tame pigeons of which he was very fond, and who at first took her to be a slave girl from the palace, commanded her to hold them for him. She tried to obey but one of the birds flew away. "How did that happen, stupid?" said the Prince. "Thus My Lord", said the girl, releasing the other pigeon which promptly followed its companion into the trees. At this juncture her veil fell from her face, and she fled in confusion. Brief though the glimpse he had of her was, the Prince was overwhelmed by her beauty. He sought the Emperor, and begged him to ask her father, Ghyas Beg, in his name for the hand of Mihr-un-Nisa in marriage. But the girl was then already affianced to a young Persian soldier, named Ali Kuli Beg Istulji, and the Emperor refused the request, because he was averse to the breaking of a troth already plighted. The Prince was so greatly depressed that the Emperor caused the marriage of Mihr-un-Nisa with Ali Kuli Beg to be hastened, in the hope that it would be easier for the Prince to accept the inevitable. The story may be true. But though not improbable, it is not one which has found favour with cautious historians.

Mihr-un-Nisa was in fact later married to Ali Kuli Istulji. He

was a young Persian soldier of fortune who was possessed of unusual courage and physical strength. and had already greatly distinguished himself under one of the Emperor's generals in a war in Sindh. After his marriage to Mihr-un-Nisa, Ali Kuli was appointed to the staff of Prince Salim, whom he accompanied on a campaign in Mewar. It was there that Ali Kuli, to the great delight of the Prince, killed a tiger in single combat, an exploit which earned him the nick-name of Sher-Afkun (tiger thrower).

When Prince Salim succeeded to the throne as the Emperor Jahangir, he appointed Sher Afkun to an exalted office in Bengal, and conferred upon him a *jagir* in Burdwan. Bengal was at that time an asylum for disaffected Afghans who had settled in India, and the province was a hot bed of sedition, conspiracy and revolt. Sher Afkun having fallen under suspicion of being involved in a treasonable intrigue, the Governor of the Province, Qutbuddin Khan, was ordered by the Emperor to send him to Court, and in case of resistance to punish him. Qutbuddin accordingly proceeded to Burdwan and summoned Sher Afkun to an interview. Sher Afkun came, accompanied only by two grooms. As he entered the camp he was surrounded by Qutbuddin's men. Suspecting treachery, he drew his sword, and before the Governor had time to explain matters, or to make his men stand back, Sher Afkun struck him a mortal blow. Sher Afkun was thereupon surrounded and cut to pieces. He died fighting fiercely.

This is the truth about the killing of Nur Jahan's first husband. The story that he was assassinated to enable the Emperor to possess himself of the lady is pure fiction.

Sher Afkun's widow and daughter were sent to Court, where Mihr-un-Nisa's father who now had the title of Itimad-ud-daulah, held high office. Mihr-un-Nisa was soon after appointed a lady-in-waiting to the dowager Empress, Sultan Salima Begum. In March 1611 Jahangir met her at an annual spring ceremony which was held in the palace—a sort of vernal fancy bazar. It was then actually that he fell in love with her, and he married her two months later, four years after the death of her first husband. Jahangir was then in his forty-third year. Nur Jahan was thirty-four.

All historians are agreed that Jahangir's love for Nur Jahan endured throughout his life, and that he entertained a vast admiration for her abilities, and reposed an implicit confidence in her judgment. Jahangir had other wives, but Mihr-un-Nisa became unquestionably the Empress. She received the appellation, first of Nur Mahal, (Light of the Palace), and later that by which the world has come to know her—Nur Jahan, (Light of the World).

She was a really beautiful woman, and there exist some

exquisite miniatures of her executed by the most famous of contemporary painters. She was strong, vigorous and fond of sport. She would ride, hunt and shoot, and as far as decorum, and her own exalted station permitted, she discarded the veil. On state occasions she appeared in public, and she always insisted on seeing with her own eyes the things and the people whose conditions and whose affairs she was called upon to regulate and rule.

When he married Nur Jahan, Jahangir had already acquired a love of ease. Gradually the reins of government passed from his hands into those of his queen. As she grew in experience she grew in power, and was from the beginning of her ascendancy ably assisted by her near relations who all attained to positions of rank, and who formed a close coterie at Court, the influence of which was for many years both unbounded and unshakable. Truly it could be said of her that she held in her hands all the threads of policy and intrigue, and wove them into the web of history.

Her mother, Asmat Begum, is remembered chiefly for an achievement which brought great delight to palace society, the discovery of a process for the manufacture of attar of roses. But she actually played a more important part in history. She exercised a steadying influence on her imperious daughter, and contemporary writers bear witness to her intelligence, wisdom and sagacity.

It was on her father however, that Nur Jahan chiefly relied. He was a man who would have risen to eminence under any circumstances, but after he became the Emperor's father-in-law, his position, as one of the premier nobles of the Empire, became unassailable. His experience, tact and native ability, coupled as it was with that polish which Persian culture alone can impart, made him a power in the realm, and he was in truth the strongest pillar in the Nur Jahan autocracy.

It was Nur Jahan who designed the beautiful tomb of Itimad-ud-Daulah at Agra. "It bears in it," to quote a critic, "the imprint of the refined feminism of this remarkable queen. There are few buildings like it in the entire range of Mogul architecture, the delicacy of treatment and chaste quality of its decoration placing it in a class by itself."

Nur Jahan, ably assisted by her coterie, ultimately succeeded in obtaining complete dominion over the Empire. The coinage was struck in her name, and the Imperial *firmans* or orders were occasionally issued in her name. She often sat in the *Jharokha* window where, she received important messengers, and personally dictated orders to the officers of state. All patronage was in her hands, and her favour came to be the sole passport to honour and to rank. It is however a mistake to suppose that the Emperor was reduced to

a phantom. All his institutions of Government were maintained, and all his principles of foreign and domestic policy were carried out. It is recorded that there were occasions when he interposed with vigour against the schemes of Nur Jahan's junta, and that more than once they were reprimanded by him in the Council Chamber. Space does not permit of my giving an account of the many incidents in the reign of Jahangir over which Nur Jahan exercised a decisive influence.

When she realised that the Emperor's end was approaching, she schemed to continue her power in the reign of his successor. The heir-apparent was Shah Jahan, but he was capable, ambitious and hostile to her. She accordingly contrived to marry her daughter by Sher Afkun to Prince Shahryar who was Jahangir's youngest surviving son, and from all accounts a complete nincompoop. She planned to place him on the throne after the Emperor's death, but the personality of Shah Jahan conspired with the ineffectiveness and unpopularity of Shahryar to bring her contrivings to nought. The story of Nur Jahan's rise to power is not a tale of uninterrupted triumphs. Her meteoric career was not without its disappointments and frustrations, but to the end, until the reins of government were taken irrevocably out of her hands, her indomitable will battled for mastery. One incident towards the close of the reign of Jahangir must be mentioned. The country was at that time divided by civil war, and Jahangir had fallen temporarily into the hands of his enemies. Nur Jahan made an attempt which was unsuccessful to recover the person of the Emperor. She placed herself at the head of her forces mounted upon an elephant, and succeeded in crossing a river. A chronicler who was an eye-witness has given the following description :

"The horses were obliged to swim. Some of them had reached the shore and some were still in the water when the enemy came down upon them, their elephants leading. Asaf Khan and Khwaja Abul Hasan were yet in the middle of the river when the men in advance of them recoiled. The officers in a panic rushed off in disorder not knowing whither they went or where they led their men. I and Khwaja Abul Hasan had crossed one branch of the river and were standing on the second beholding the work of destiny. Horsemen and footmen, horses, camels and carriages were in the midst of the river jostling each other pressing to the opposite shore. At this time a eunuch of Nur Jahan came to us and said : 'The Begum wants to know if this is the time for delay and irresolution. Strike boldly forward so that by your advance the enemy may be repulsed and take to flight.' The enemy pushed forward their elephants and the horsemen came from the rear, dashed into the

water and plied their swords. Our handful of men being without leaders turned and fled and the swords of the enemy tinged the water with their blood."

Nur Jahan herself was involved in the fray. She had with her on the elephant her infant grand-daughter, the daughter of Prince Shahryar. An arrow punctured the baby's arm. The elephant very nearly crossed the river, but it received sword cuts on its trunk and was turned back. It swam to the other bank where Nur Jahan was joined by her maids. She herself extracted the arrow from the infant's arm, and then returned to her camp.

One of the turmoils which marked the end of the reign of Jahangir was a rebellion by Shahajan. When this failed it was Nur Jahan who dictated the terms upon which he should be pardoned. They were not excessive, but they were of such nature as to safeguard the Emperor from any further attempts by his son to seize the throne.

After the Emperor's death Nur Jahan spent the rest of her days in peaceful retirement. She devoted herself to good works, and expended enormous sums in charity.

Jahangir was buried in the Dilkhusha Garden of Nur Jahan in Shahdara in Lahore. It was she who selected the spot, and she erected there a magnificent mausoleum at her own expense. No dome was raised, for the Emperor, ever a lover of nature, had expressed the wish that his tomb should lie in the open exposed to sun, rain and dew.

Another Mogul lady known to fame lived in the following reign. She was the Queen of Shahjahan. It was to perpetuate her memory that the Tajmahal which enshrines her mortal remains was built. She was a beautiful, accomplished and devoted woman. Her name was Anjuman Banu Begum, but she was known to the world as Mumtaz Mahal (Ornament of the Palace). She was the daughter of Asaf Khan, the brother of Nur Jahan.

Towards the end of Shahjahan's rebellion against the Emperor Jahangir, the Prince was separated from his wife and his infant son, Prince Murad Bux, who by the fortunes of war came to be isolated and surrounded in the fortress of Rohtas in Bihar. It was this separation from his wife and child, coupled with the knowledge that the fortress which gave them shelter was practically surrounded by the imperial troops, which more than anything else, broke Shahjahan's final resistance, and led him to write to his father offering unconditional submission.

Mumtaz Mahal was noted for her kindness of heart, and for her numerous charities. It is said that she kept a perpetual list of deserving individual cases, and with this she was in the habit of

comforting the Emperor when he arose refreshed from his afternoon siesta.

The Portugese had settled at Hooghly during the reign of Jahangir, and their commercial activities included an extensive trade in slaves. During the lifetime of the Emperor Jahangir, Shahjahan, then known as Prince Khurram, had, as already stated, risen in rebellion, and been defeated. He then sought refuge in a flight the course of which took him close to the village of Hooghly. The Portugese, learning of this, sallied forth, and seized two female slaves who happened to be in the retinue of the Prince. Mumtaz Mahal on hearing of the incident, sent a messenger to them praying for the return of the two slave girls. But the request was not granted, "an act" says Manucci, "which cost them dear." Manucci proceeds to explain how in the following words: "Finding himself undisputed king of Hindusthan, Shahjahan was compelled to make war against the Portugese of Hooghly, for this was demanded by Tajmahal, (by which he means Mumtaz Mahal), from whom the Portugese had carried off two slave girls. He sent against them General Kasim Khan who when he arrived close to Hooghly made an arrangement with the Portugese. These paid a large sum of money whereupon Kasim Khan retired the distance of a day's journey, but again advanced towards Hooghly, with the excuse that the King had ordered him to take the place. They defended themselves as long as they could, but unable to continue longer they surrendered. Kasim Khan seized by lot 5,000 souls. It seemed as if God desired to chastise the Portugese of Hooghly, seeing that they were unable to escape with their ships by way of the river Ganges. The water in the river had fallen, and the boats lay stranded, a thing that had never happened before or since. I have no desire to record in this place the arrogance displayed by these same Portugese of whom I will write somewhat elsewhere. Kasim Khan carried off the prisoners to Court, and God willed that before they arrived there the Queen should die. There cannot be the least doubt that if the Portugese had reached the Court in the lifetime of Tajmahal (Mumtaz Mahal), she would have ordered the whole of them to be cut into pieces, for thus had she sworn when they did her the injury."

Shahjahan was married to Mumtaz Mahal when he was twenty years of age, and this marriage was successful to a degree rare in royal households. He had fourteen children by her—eight sons and six daughters—and his devotion to her was such, that during her lifetime Shah Jahan's personal conduct was untouched by any breath of that scandal which tarnished his later years. The famous princesses Jahanara and Roshanara were the daughters of this union, as were also the four princes including Aurangzeb.

Mumtaz Mahal was a woman of a different type from Nur Jahan. There is no authentic record of any active attempt on her part to acquire political influence, and she never had any real part in the intrigues of the court. Her energies were devoted to the care, education and upbringing of her numerous children, and her leisure was undoubtedly occupied in the pursuits of religion, art, literature and music. But it is recorded that Shahjahan made her the keeper of his seal, and that she had access to the Imperial *firmans*. She certainly had every opportunity of obtaining an insight into affairs of State, and her personality did in fact exercise a not inconsiderable influence over some of Shah Jahan's policies. She accompanied her husband upon all his missions as Governor during the lifetime of the Emperor Jahangir, and also in some of Shahjahan's campaigns.

It was at a time when the fortunes of war had been propitious for the Emperor that he was called upon to face the most agonising misfortune and the deepest sorrow of his life. The Queen had accompanied him from Agra to the Deccan. Regardless of the fact that she was shortly to become a mother, she had insisted on being with her beloved, and taking part in the arduous march. On the 6th July 1632 she gave birth to a daughter. The child survived, but the mother died. The Emperor's grief was a terrible thing, but as he gradually became calmer his mind concentrated on the one thought—how to raise a memorial to her, which would give expression not only to his love, but above all to the loftiness of her soul, and the beauty of her features. There came to him eventually the beautiful idea of raising over the earthly remains of Mumtaz Mahal, a tomb the like of which the world has never seen.

Aurangzib seized the throne in Shahjahan's lifetime, and the latter spent the last years of his life as a prisoner in the Fort at Agra. His end came on the night of January 22, 1666, in the presence of the best beloved of his children, his daughter Jahanara, and a little company of faithful slaves who had elected to share their unhappy sovereign's adversity. The Emperor thanked them for their loyalty, and solemnly blessed his daughter. This is how the scene has been described by an English historian: "With the words of the Mahomedan creed on his lips, his eyes gazing through the open casement, sought the further bank of the Jumna where stood the matchless shrine of his only love, white and stainless in the moonlight. Then with a smile born of the hope of re-union, the last truly great Mogul passed from this earthly sphere."

Shahjahan had intended to erect on the opposite bank of the Jumna an exact replica of the Taj in black marble, which was in due course to have received his own earthly remains, and to connect the two shrines by a bridge of silver. The wars by which the empire

was torn in the last years of his reign prevented the execution of this design, and eventually it was Jahanara who arranged that he should be laid to rest beside Mumtaz Mahal in the mausoleum sanctified by their love which has rendered it immortal. The Taj Mahal! That amazing memorial, which is at once an epitaph and a poem in marble, composed by an emperor to immortalise the name of the woman he loved; that kingly emblem of a king's undying devotion; that miracle of craftsmanship and triumph of design; that one existing handiwork of man which ever inspires thoughts too deep for words, and which the witchery of moonlight touches with a beauty that is unearthly. Can the Taj ever be adequately described in words? I think not. The Taj Mahal has been called a peerless masterpiece of architecture. As during her lifetime, the Emperor considered no building too splendid to house his beloved Queen, so it was fitting that on her death her remains should be laid to rest within a monument of matchless beauty. I would like to quote a few passages from Mr. Percy Brown's chapter on the Monuments of the Mogul Period in Vol. IV of the *Cambridge History of India*. "Of the manner in which the design was obtained, and who was responsible for the noble building which eventually matured, there are no direct records. What evidence there is, is contradictory. On the one hand there is the contemporary statement of Father Manrique, who definitely affirms that models were prepared and submitted to the Emperor by a certain Geronimo Veroneo, a Venetian, who was residing in the Mogul capital at the time. On the other hand indigenous documents have been preserved containing a detailed account of those employed on the building, all of whom were Asiatics, with no indication of any European intervention. And as an answer to the Jesuit Father's contention there is the standing testimony of the Taj Mahal itself, which shows in all its aspects, that it was the natural evolution of the style true to tradition and entirely unaffected by occidental influence. The truth seems to be, that Veroneo was invited as were others, to produce designs, but *that* prepared by the Mogul master-builders was the one eventually selected.

"Particulars of those who took part in the production of this incomparable masterpiece, indicate that no effort was spared to obtain the services of specialists in every phase of the work. Several of these were indigenous craftsmen from Delhi, Lahore, Multan, and similar art centres of the Mogul Empire, while others were drawn from more distant sources, such as a calligraphist from Baghdad, and another from Shiraz, to ensure that all the inscriptions were correctly carved or inlaid; a flower-carver from Bukhara; an expert in dome construction, Ismail Khan Rumi, who by his name may

have come from Constantinople; a pinnacle-maker from Samarquand; a master mason from Quandahar and lastly an experienced garden planner. The Chief supervisor who co-ordinated the entire work was one Ustad Isa, the best designer of his time, and according to one account originally an inhabitant of Shiraz. It may be noted that while the structural portions seem to have been principally in the hands of Mahomedans, the decoration was mainly the work of Hindu craftsmen, the difficult task of preparing the pietra dura specially being entrusted to a group of the latter from Kanauj."

Jahanara was born on the 1st April 1614, when Shah Jahan as prince Khurram, was waging war against the Rana of Udaipur. It was almost at the moment of her father's victory over the valiant Rajput, that this child of his, saw the light of day. The girl who was extremely intelligent, early responded to the tuition of a very brilliant and learned woman, Satiun-nisa-Khanum, the widow of a poet laureate, who was appointed to be her governess. Her personality blossomed and expanded in the atmosphere of a harem over which her illustrious grandmother Nur Jahan still held sway. The wit, polish and refinement which the Moghul Court had then attained was never to the surpassed, and the circumstance that her early years were spent in such a forcing house of the intellect, accounts in some measure for the literary fame which Jahanara subsequently achieved.

Jahanara had the rare gift of inspiring affection in every one she came in contact with. Her near relations doted on her, and seized every opportunity of showering gifts upon her. When she was fifteen her father ascended the throne. At the Imperial darbar, which was held then, the Emperor conferred on her the title of Padshah Begum—Empress of Princesses, and made a gift to her of one lakh of gold mohurs, four lakhs of rupees, and an annual grant of six lakhs of rupees. A few months later, at the feast of the vernal equinox, she received from her father a further present of jewels worth 20 lakhs. When Adil Khan of Bijapur was transmitting arrears of tribute in 1650, he sent her a present worth 5 lakhs in cash and jewellery. To mark Jahanara's recovery from serious injuries caused by burns, due to an accident, great celebrations were held. The princess was weighed against gold which was then distributed amongst the poor. To make a pair of bracelets, Shah Jahan gave her 130 perfect pearls, the value of which was estimated at 5 lakhs of rupees, and he assigned to her absolutely in her own right the port of Surat.

The accident just mentioned occurred on the 6th April, 1644. Her dress caught fire. Maid-servants tried to extinguish the flames, but both they and the princess were severely burned. She was in great suffering for many months, and at times her life was despaired

ed. The Emperor was beside himself with anxiety. The princes Aurangzib and Murad came from their distant provinces to visit their sister. The Court was in a turmoil, and the entire populace offered constant prayer for her recovery. The Emperor ordered one thousand rupees to be given away daily in alms until she was healed. The most famous physicians were sent for from all over the country. The well known story of the visit to Delhi of Gabriel Broughton, the surgeon of the East India Company's ship Hopewell, relates to this period. Although it is established that Broughton did at one time go to Delhi, historians are divided in their opinions regarding the authenticity of the tale which associates his visit with the illness of the Princess. Here it is, however, for what it is worth. Broughton who had been sent for to treat the princess, was more successful than the other physicians who were in attendance upon her. Jahanara gradually gained strength, and was in a few months completely restored to health. The gratitude of Shah Jahan knew no bounds, and he asked the doctor to name his own reward. Broughton asked for nothing for himself, but with noteworthy patriotism, prayed that favour might be shown to the English traders in Bengal, who, at that time were labouring under considerable disadvantages. Shah Jahan gladly acceded to this request, and when Broughton left the capital he carried with him an Imperial *firman*, which conferred on the East India Company the monopoly of the foreign trade with Bengal; and which granted to its representatives complete freedom of movement, and every commercial facility throughout the Moghul Empire. Broughton proceeded to Rajmahal, which was then the capital of Bengal, and there he was received with the highest honours by Prince Shuja, the second son of the Emperor, who was the viceroy of this province. The prince was suffering from a troublesome ailment, and Broughton succeeded in curing him also. In consequence of this, the Prince gave the East India Company permission to establish a factory at Balasore. As I have said, the truth of this account has been doubted, but it happens in fact to be supported by a *nishan* or Letters Patent which were actually granted to the Company by Prince Shuja probably in the year 1652. The *firman* already granted by the Emperor is referred to in the *nishan*.

The Princess Jahanara was a great organiser of festivals and fetes, a role for which she was eminently equipped both by training and natural good taste. It was she who planned and supervised the pomps and ceremonies which attended the wedding of her two brothers Dara and Shuja. The pages of contemporary chronicles abound with glowing descriptions of these celebrations. She spent lavishly out of her own pocket on these occasions. Towards the expenses of Dara's marriage, which amounted to the stupendous figure of three

million and two hundred thousand rupees, she herself contributed one million and six hundred thousand. Wedding gifts were obtained from places as far apart as Benaires, Maldah and Gujrat. Jahanara arranged an exhibition of these in the Hall of Public Audience on the 25th January 1633. In the afternoon the exhibition was visited by the Emperor and the ladies of the Harem, and in the evening the royal officers and nobles were granted access to it.

Jahanara was famed throughout the land for her patience, her kindness of heart, and for her skill as a peace-maker. Between 1633 and 1634, Shah Jahan's eldest son, prince Dara, was seriously ill. Jahanara nursed him through the malady, and there can be little doubt that the prince owed his life, as much to her tenderness and loving care, as to the ministrations of the physicians. In 1653, when Aurangzib had, by paying heed to unwise counsels, incurred the displeasure of his father, Jahanara pleaded her brother's cause, and was successful in restoring Aurangzib to the royal favour, and to the dignities and emoluments of which the Emperor had deprived him.

The ambitions of Shah Jahan's sons led to feuds which eventually flamed into civil war. Aurangzib and Morad made common cause againt their father, and at the battle of Dharmat defeated the army, under Jaswant Singh, which the Emperor, who was then too infirm to take the field in person, had sent against them. Efforts to bring about a reconciliation were then made, and in these Jahanara took a prominent part. It was one of Aurangzib's grievances, that Shah Jahan had become subservient in all matters to the wishes of his eldest son Dara, whom Aurangzib had grown to hate. Jahanara wrote a letter to Aurangzib in which she asserted that it was the Emperor who was in control of the affairs of state, and that with the exception of the period spent in prayers, he was devoting the whole of his time to looking after the welfare of his subjects and to propagating religion. "It is against all canons of wisdom," she wrote, "to fight the eldest prince. You should observe the path of loyalty and obedience, and should stop at the place whither you have arrived. To prevent the waste of Muslim lives on either side, send your representatives to Court." This counsel went unheeded, and later when Aurangzib arrived at Agra, Jahanara acting as the emissary of the emperor, waited upon him with a view to effecting a settlement between the prince and his father. The proposal which she voiced was that Aurangzib would be nominated as heir apparent, and that the other princes, Dara, Muazzam, Murad and Shuja, would be assigned the governorships of the Punjab, the Deccan, Gujrat and Bengal respectively. Skilful though her diplomacy was, it failed on this occasion to achieve its purpose.

Jahanara was no novice in state-craft, as is testified to by the fact, that when the Prime Minister, Asaf Khan, was sent to lead an expedition to Balaghat, the Privy Seal which he surrendered to the Emperor, before departing, was made over by the monarch to the custody of the princess. As keeper of that seal, all mandates issued by the Emperor had to pass through her hands. With the quick intelligence with which she was endowed, she soon became versed in the mysteries of statecraft, and enjoying as she did at the same time, the complete confidence of her father, there can be little doubt that she remained for a time the real though unseen power behind the throne. Bernier speaking of her influence, has said:

"Shah Jahan reposed unbounded confidence in his favourite child, she watched over his safety, and was so cautiously observant, that no dish was permitted to appear upon the royal table which had not been prepared under her superintendence. It is not surprising, therefore, that her ascendency in the court of the Mogol should have been nearly unlimited; that she should always have regulated the humours of her father, and exercised a powerful influence on the most weighty concerns."

Beales in the Dictionary of Oriental Biography, says of her:—

"Her name will ever adorn the pages of history as a bright example of filial attachment, and heroic self devotion to the dictates of duty . . . she not only supported her aged father in adversity, but voluntarily resigned her liberty, and resided with him during his imprisonment at Agra."

When Shah Jahan was on his death bed, she besought him to pardon Aurangzib, who had not only taken from the Emperor his realm, but had kept him a prisoner for the short remainder of his days in the fort at Agra. In this she succeeded, and the Emperor's forgiveness of his son helped to lighten the gloom of his own last moments, and also to remove the burden of remorse that weighed upon Aurangzib.

But gentle as she was, there was iron in Jahanara's blood. In 1684, she was with Prince Azam when he was beseiging Bijapur. The length of the seige led to a shortage of provisions, and the generals grew dispirited. When the outlook became really gloomy, the princess did a thing which converted what looked like failure into success. She mounted an elephant, took a bow and arrow in her hands and placed herself at the head of the forces. This, it has been said, was the turning point of that campaign.

Jahanara was a lover of architecture, of gardens, and of poetry, and she was a mystic. She built the spacious Jami Masjid at Agra; and at Delhi after the foundation of the new capital, which

was called Shajahanbad, she erected a magnificient caravanserai which both Bernier and Manucci have described in terms of the warmest admiration. She also built a mosque and monastery at Srinagore, and probably one near Atak.

She possessed many gardens; some, which were given to her by Shah Jahan, she improved and extended, unbellishing them with fountains, cascades and pavilions; others, including two celebrated ones at Kashmir and Delhi, she planned and laid out herself.

Jahanara wrote Persian with distinction, and she is the author of poems that are universally acknowledged for their merit. She was an extremely devout woman, a student of Sufism and a votary of the Chisti saints, who were revered by all the great Moghul Emperors. She wrote several religious treatises the best known of which was a biography of the great and celebrated saint Hazrat Muin-ud-din Chisti of Ajmir.

Jahanara wrote her own epitaph—"Let no one cover my tomb with aught but the green grass. The fresh turf is a pall sufficient for this poor stranger.

"The humble and frail Jahanara, the devotee of the saints of Chisti, daughter of the victorious king Shah Jahan, may God illuminate his reason.

She lies within an enclosure built entirely of fine white marble, with screens of trellis work, with no stone over her, but only the green earth; open [redacted] God's sunshine and rain. She was a noble lady, one of the many, who have graced the pages of Indian History, and one of the finest representatives of the Moghul Dynasty.

I am conscious that in this sketch, I have ruffled only the surface of my subject, touched but its fringes. For a true appreciation of the lives of the women about whom I have written it would be necessary to strike out into the main stream of history, and to view these lives in their essential setting of great political events and against the background of a medieval society, whose standards of conduct and habits of thought are widely removed from those of our day. To attempt a portrait of such dimensions is beyond the scope of a magazine article. I have tried however to show that even he that runs may read, and I will consider myself fortunate if I have succeeded in conveying even a glimmer of that life which was lived behind the curtains in the royal palaces of the Moghuls of India.

N. A. Khundkar

BENGAL AS CLIVE FOUND IT

Our story goes back to the beginning of the year 1756, just 187 years ago almost to a day. Bengal politics was then in a high pitch of tension. The old Nawab Alivardi Khan, suffering from dropsy, was lying on his deathbed in the capital city Murshidabad, and the various political parties or groups in the court were anxious devising measures to guard their own interests, for a war of succession was deemed inevitable. Alivardi had no son, and his three daughters were married to three sons of his brother who had all occupied high office and position in life, but died during his life-time. The eldest daughter, Ghasiti Begum, had ample resource in men and money; her husband was the governor of Dacca and the Dewan of Murshidabad, and having no child she adopted the younger son of her second sister. When both the son and the husband died Ghasiti plotted to secure the throne for the posthumous child of her son with the help of her husband's Dewan Rajballabh and several generals. As the Nawab's death seemed imminent she removed herself to Matijhil, a fortified castle on the outskirt of the city of Murshidabad which her husband had constructed for this purpose.

Shaukat Jang, the son of the other daughter, was the governor of Purnea and he also organised his forces for the coming struggle.

Young Sirajuddaula, the son of the third daughter, was the favourite of the old Nawab, and nominated by him as his successor to the throne. He nominally commanded all the resources of the state, but there was a strong party against him at the court who secretly supported the cause of his rivals.

The chief European settlements in Bengal in 1756 were those of the English, the French and the Dutch respectively at Calcutta, Chandernagore and Chinsura. Those of the Danes at Serampore and the Portuguese at Bandel were of little importance, while the Prussian company—the German nation not yet being born—had no settlement at all. "The three chief settlements consisted each of a native or Black Town, and a European or White Town. In the centre of the latter was the Factory or Trading House, surrounded by a quadrangular enclosure, the walls of which were constructed to carry guns." These were known by the dignified names of Forts. Besides these chief settlements the English, French and Dutch had factory houses at Cossimbazar near the capital town of Murshidabad, and at Dacca, the ancient capital of Bengal. Although principally carrying on trade, the English and French both possessed armed

forces, and apart from business rivalry the political events in Europe determined the relations between the two. The strong hand of Alivardi forced them to observe neutrality towards each other. But early in 1756 both the French and English were expecting the outbreak of war in Europe and each knew that the death of Alivardi and the inevitable war of succession would so weaken the hands of government that the other would not hesitate to take the offensive if he felt powerful enough to do so. They therefore not only began to repair and strengthen their fortifications but also tried to enlist the support of the rival factions at court. Sirajuddaula harboured a suspicion that the English were in league with Ghasiti Begum. About 15 days before Alivardi's death when Surgeon Forth, the English medical officer at Cossimbazar, was with the Nawab, Sirajuddaula came in and with a face full of resentment and anger told the Nawab that he had received information that the English were going to assist Ghasiti Begum. The old Nawab asked Forth if it was true, and the latter replied that it was a malicious report. M. Law, the French Chief of Cossimbazar, also says in his memoir that the English had an understanding both with Ghasiti Begum and Shaukat Jang. There are good grounds to believe that these reports were not altogether unfounded. It is a fact that Rajballabh, the chief supporter of Ghasiti Begum, sent his son Krishnadas with his family and treasures to Calcutta, and according to certain reports a portion of Ghasiti Begum's treasure was also with him. It may be true that Rajballabh paid heavy bribes to some members of the Calcutta Council, as the Court of Directors believed on good authority, but the English would hardly have taken the risk of incurring the wrath of Sirajuddaula by offering shelter to Krishnadas unless they believed that Ghasiti's party would win and they would derive considerable advantage from the goodwill of Rajballabh, her chief adviser. There is also evidence that the English carried on correspondence with Shaukat Jang and wished his success against Sirajuddaula.

Such was the tense atmosphere in the political sky of Bengal when, on the 9th of April 1756, the old Nawab breathed his last. Sirajuddaula immediately proclaimed himself Nawab, and his very first act on ascending the throne was to attack Matijhil where Ghasiti Begum was entrenched with all her forces. Ghasiti Begum had ample resources in men and money but lacked the strength and courage necessary for the occasion. She opposed Sirajuddaula for a few days, but allowed herself to be persuaded by her mother to come to terms with him. As soon as Ghasiti Begum gave up hostilities Sirajuddaula took her forces in his pay and having

lay entirely within his power plundered her of all her riches in order to put an end to all future troubles from that quarter.

The Nawab had also taken prompt steps to seize the wealth and family of Rajballabh which found a shelter in Calcutta. Even while he was engaged in the siege of Motijhil he sent Naran Singh, brother of Rajaram, Fouzdar of Hooghly, to Calcutta demanding the surrender of Rajballabh's family and his wealth. Incredible as it may seem, Drake, the English Governor, without even consulting his Council, not only refused the request of the Nawab, but even drove away his messenger with ignominy. In spite of the long and laboured defence of his conduct, which he submitted at a later date, the real ground of his action seems to be, as Holwell had the candour to admit, that the English had definitely espoused the cause of Ghasiti Begum and did not yet despair of the success of her party. For the same reason Drake did not send any satisfactory reply to the Nawab's demand that the English should demolish the fortifications newly constructed in Calcutta.

The folly of Drake was realised as soon as Sirajuddaula triumphed over Ghasiti Begum, but then it was too late. The Nawab had led an expedition against Shaukat Jang and reached Rajmahal when the story of the envoy and the reply of Drake reached him. It acted like a spark to a powder magazine. The Nawab's rage knew no bounds. The very idea that a small body of merchants living in the Nawab's dominions should refuse to comply with his demands and even dare insult his agent threw him into a fit of passion. It convinced him that the English were his inveterate enemies and his throne was not secure until he could finally destroy their power and authority. He therefore resolved to extirpate the British from Bengal. The English had committed an offence which could neither be forgiven nor forgotten, and they were in the hands of one who never forgave or forgot.

The vengeance was swift and terrible. The Nawab immediately turned back from Rajmahal with all his forces and sent orders to his officers at Murshidabad to surround the factory at Cossimbazar and to post troops near Calcutta and Hooghly. So quick was the Nawab's action that Watts, the chief of Cossimbazar, was first acquainted with the Nawab's wrath by the sudden appearance of a body of troops who invested the factory. Watts at first shut himself within the factory but was prevailed upon by the Nawab's commander to come out and visit the Nawab. He and Surgeon Forth were led as prisoners before Sirajuddaula with their hands tied behind their backs. The little fort of Cossimbazar surrendered without a blow on the 4th June, and the same day the Nawab's army started for Calcutta.

As soon as the news of the fall of Cossimbazar reached Calcutta, the English Chief sent a request to Madras for assistance and wrote to the French and Duch Chiefs at Chinsura and Chandernagore asking them to act in concert with the British against the Nawab. The Dutch refused point blank to meddle in a quarrel not of their own making. The French answered sympathetically, but all they could offer was the refuge of their own fort if the British thought Fort William indefensible. The Nawab also sought the aid of the French and the Dutch promising the town of Calcutta and the British factories to both if only they would join him. The French and the Dutch politely but firmly refused assistance.

On the 7th June Drake called a Council to consider the plan of defence. They suddenly discovered that the number of troops in garrison was very small; 70 of the European soldiers were sick in hospital, 25 more were absent up-country, and of the remaining 180 the greater part were Indian Portuguese. It was therefore determined to abandon the Black Town and draw an inner line round the European houses. About three hundred volunteers and militia were hastily enrolled, and two civilian members of the Council were made respectively Colonel and Lieut. Colonel, thus giving them rank superior to that held by any of the military. "This extraordinary arrangement," remarks Hill, "appears quite in keeping with the other ridiculous actions of the Council, and its only possible explanation is that the Council was so certain of repulsing the Nawab that its chief care was to make sure that none of the credit of the exploit should fall to the military."

Apart from the small number of soldiers there were other deficiencies in Calcutta. The guns they had were old and neglected and very few of them mounted. Most of the powder had become damp and was useless. There was no time to make more nor any place in the crowded fort where the damp powder could be dried. The Nawab had seized all the guns and ammunition from Cossimbazar factory and placed them in charge of some French and Portuguese officers. These men being all Christians, the Catholic priests in Calcutta were instructed to write and remonstrate with them on the wickedness of fighting for a Muhammadan prince against Christians. They replied that there was no means to escape.

On the 13th June the spies brought the news that the Nawab's army, which consisted of from 30,000 to 50,000 men with 150 elephants and camels, the guns taken at Cossimbazar, and 25 European and 200 Portuguese gunners, had arrived at Baraset and that a small party had been seen at Dum Dum. At about noon on the 16th June a portion of Nawab's troops attacked a little fort called Perrin's redoubt which covered the approaches to Calcutta over the Maratha

Ditch by what is now known as the Chitpur Bridge. All the British women were thereupon brought into the Fort.

On the 17th June the Nawab and his army crossed the Maratha Ditch at several points and by the evening the whole town was surrounded. It is needless to describe in detail the horrors of warfare that were then let loose on the city of Calcutta. The following extract from the narrative of an English official would give a fair idea of the situation: "The enemy entered the skirts of the town plundering and burning all they met in their way specially the black merchants' houses. We had also intelligence of their having burned in their march all about Barasut, Dumdum and Baranagore. June 17th we caused all the bazars and cajan houses (thatched with palm-leaf) to the eastward to be burnt, as likewise to the southward, almost as far as Govinpoor where many of our people being detected plundering were instantly punished with decapitation. In the mean-time the enemy had set fire to the Great Bazar and the adjacent places, as well as to many parts of the Black Town, which burnt till morning, and being so very extensive and near, formed a scene too horrible for language to describe." The same night all the remaining peons and servants who could escape abandoned the city and over 1000 of the bearers or coolies deserted when they were required to carry powder into the Fort. At the same time the Portuguese and Armenian women and children crowded into the Fort, the militia declaring that they would not fight unless their families were admitted. About 500 were got safely on board ship, but enough remained,—about 2,000—to throw everything into confusion.

On the 18th the Nawab's troops attacked the first line of defence, and carried it in a few hours. In the evening it was decided that the women should be sent on board. A detachment of thirty men who took them to the ship themselves refused to come back. The effect was contagious. Responsible officials, including members of the Council and a number of Militia officers, followed the example. The crowding was so great that many ladies including Mrs. Drake were left behind. The defenders of the fort were wearied out. There were no cooks and servants to prepare provisions, so that though there was plenty of food, the men at the outpost were left to starve in the midst of plenty.

At 11 P.M. the Nawab's troops reached the walls of the Fort. Between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning of the 19th Mr. Drake held an informal Council. Captain Witherington reported that the supply of ammunition had run short. Other officers declared that the men were no longer under control, many of the Militia were drunk, and some had even drawn their bayonets on the officers who called them to their duty. It was therefore determined to abandon

the Fort, but how or when to make the retreat could not be decided upon as the Council was broken up suddenly by a cannon ball coming into the consultation room.

About 9-30 next morning Capt. Witherington came and whispered to the Governor that all the powder, except that which had been issued, was damp and useless. He was overheard by some of the Portuguese women and stampede ensued for the remaining boats, in which it is said some 200 women and children were drowned. Shouts now arose that the enemy were forcing the barriers which ran from the Fort to the waterside and the capture of which would have cut off all retreat to the river. Drake ordered the Factory Gate leading to the water to be closed and fieldpieces to be brought up to defend the barriers. But no one paid attention to his orders and he saw crowds of gentlemen, including Commandants and members of Council, going down to the boats. Drake thought that everyone was escaping from the Fort and that he would be left alone to face the anger of the Nawab. He ran down to one of the last boats remaining at the Ghat, and despite the remonstrance of the adjutant, Capt. Grant, had himself rowed on board the ship.

As soon as the flight of Drake and the other members were known to the remnant of the inmates there followed an outburst of rage and horror. A Council was hurriedly called. Drake and other fugitive members of the Council were suspended and Mr. Holwell was appointed Governor. It was decided to carry on the retreat, as already agreed upon by the Council on the 18th. Everyone was convinced that after their panic was over the men on board would bring up the fleet again. In this vain hope they passed the terrible night of the 10th the darkness of which was lit up by the flames of the houses burning all round them. The soldiers now refused obedience to their officers, made themselves drunk, and in the night a corporal and fifty-six soldiers, chiefly Dutch, deserted to the enemy. On the 20th the Nawab's men scaled the walls of the Fort on all sides by means of bamboos, which they used as ladders, and cut to pieces all who resisted. Holwell and his men surrendered their arms and the Nawab entered the Fort. What happened after this cannot be discussed freely, on account of the ban of the Local Government, and I had better draw a veil over subsequent happenings. It will suffice to state that Holwell and other leading British officials were carried as prisoners to Murshidabad. But on the intercession of his mother and grandmother the Nawab released them and they joined the English refugees at Fulta.

The fortunes of the East India Company in Bengal were now at the lowest ebb. They had lost all their factories and possessions

and their employees, both high and low, were now refugees at Fulta. The Nawab had issued orders forbidding supply of provisions to the British, and Drake with all the men, women and children was living in the utmost destitution and discomfort, partly on board the shipping and partly in tents and straw hovels ashore. The vessels were so crowded that all lay promiscuously on the decks without shelter from the rains of the season and for some time without a change of raiment. Sickness increased their sufferings and about two-thirds of the men died of malignant fever which affected all the vessels. A messenger was sent to the French and Dutch who succeeded, under cover of a storm, in passing Calcutta unnoticed by Nawab's men. The French politely refused any assistance, but the Dutch, though unwilling at first, decided on 20th July to help the British and sent down a vessel laden with all kinds of provisions. Even in the midst of all these miseries the refugees, instead of showing any spirit of mutual goodwill, passed their time in mutual bickerings. The younger men in the Company's service fixed every kind of blame on their superiors and the members of the Council accused one another.

The English eagerly looked forward for help in two directions. They had sent repeated messages to Madras for assistance, and hoped that Shaukat Jang, the rival of Sirajuddaula, might defeat him. A small reinforcement from Madras arrived early in August, and it was not till 23rd October that a sloop arrived from Madras with the message that Clive and Watson were shortly to leave for Bengal with strong reinforcements. This good news was counterbalanced by a letter received on the 27th that the Nawab had defeated and killed Shaukat Jang.

Although the English heard the news of Shaukat Jang's death with dismay, it really proved a blessing in disguise. The Nawab was now freed from all his rivals, and probably due to the sense of security he felt he relapsed into his habitual indolence, and did not take any further steps against the English. His inactivity was also probably partly due to his belief, shared by his Court, that the English were finished. The ease with which he conquered Calcutta and the ignominious flight of the English took off from his mind the dread of English might. Hastings wrote from Cossimbazar about this time that the English were never mentioned at the Court of Murshidabad except with pity and contempt. In any case these views alone can sufficiently explain, what would otherwise appear incredible, that the Nawab sent no military expedition to drive the English from Fulta, although he had a large army in Calcutta and Hooghly. In strange contrast to the unwonted energy and activity which the Nawab displayed in the first part of his reign, his subse-

quent conduct is marked by lethargy and indecision which proved his doom.

His nemesis arrived in the shape of Clive, whose army with Watson's fleet reached Fulta on the 15th of December, 1756, after a voyage of two months.

This technically brings me to the end of my discourse.

The state of affairs in Bengal as Clive found it has been described above. How he raised the British from the slough of despondency into which they had fallen, and how his military genius and daring enterprise not only retrieved the great calamity but raised the fortunes of the British to a height never dreamt of before would more suitably form the subject of another discussion with the heading Bengal as Lord Clive left it. But in order to complete the story of Clive in Bengal I may mention that from the time of his arrival, the history of Bengal flowed in the opposite direction. We have seen how Sirajuddaula came from Murshidabad, captured Calcutta, and made the English retreat along the Ganges to Fulta. Clive now started from Fulta and recaptured Calcutta almost without a blow. The Nawab's general Manikchand wrote plaintively to his master that the English under Clive were very different from those he met in Calcutta. The Nawab himself came down with his large army, but met with a very different kind of reception. While encamped at Omichand's garden, which was located in the northern suburb of the modern city, the Nawab was surprised by Clive with a small army in the early hours of the morning. He was forced to conclude a treaty accepting all the terms offered by the British. Clive then captured Chandernagore because war had broken out in Europe between France and England. The Nawab tried to shield the French, as a possible support against the English, whereupon Clive demanded the surrender of all French Factories and expulsion of the French. After great vacillation Sirajuddaula accepted the British demand. But Clive boldly conceived the design of removing him from the throne by taking advantage of the disaffection of his counsellors and generals. Secret conspiracy was made with Rai Durlabh, the Chief Minister, and Mir Jafar, the General of the Nawab. Clive then openly declared war and met the Nawab's army at Plassey. Mir Jafar, with the large part of the Nawab's army, took no part in the battle and even induced the Nawab to recall his trusted General Mohanlal who was advancing with his army. Clive seized this opportunity to press home his attack and the Nawpb's host fled pell mell in all directions. Clive proclaimed Mir Jafar as the Nawab of Bengal and proceeded in triumph to Murshidabad. The unfortunate Sirajuddaula made a vain attempt to rally his forces and then fled for his life. He was, however,

captured and beheaded by Miran, the son of Mir Jafar. Henceforth, the British became virtually the masters of Bengal.

Thus within six months of his arrival Clive marched in triumph from Fulta to Murshidabad. The account given above of the discomfiture of the English in the hands of the Nawab offers a strange contrast to the uninterrupted success of the British under Clive. Napoleon once said that it is not men but a man that decides the fate of a battle. Never had this dictum a stronger confirmation than in the career of Clive.

But this is not the occasion to review it at length and I must end my discourse with a tribute to the great personality who has been justly recognised to be the real founder of the British Empire and one of the greatest men of action.

R. C. Majumdar

THE SANTALS: AN ABORIGINAL TRIBE

From the point of view of numbers, the Santals are one of the most important of aboriginal peoples of India. In the 1961 census they numbered over two millions. They are of particular interest to Bengal, as although there are more Santals in Bihar, they constitute an important group of about seven hundred thousand people in Bengal, and they are found in all the western districts, as well as in several districts of North Bengal. From Monghyr, and indeed over the Nepal border in the North, to Mayurbhanj in the South, in the districts of Bengal already mentioned, and in some parts of Assam, they are an important element in the population. To this day they retain their propensity for wandering, which they celebrate in their traditions and songs. They themselves have no knowledge of a past outside India; and it is impossible to dogmatise on the subject of their origins. They are now of course particularly associated with the Santal Parganas district in Bihar, but they have not been there for much more than a hundred years; they displaced a more primitive tribe (the Mal Paharias) from the lands which they occupied. Further south, in parts of Bankura and Midnapore districts, they have been living for at least three hundred years, and they came there from further west.

The Santals say they never wander except from sheer necessity; at heart they are true villagers, which means that the Santal village is far more than a convenient place to live in; in the Santal's mind a sentiment has grown up round his village, and in the city he feels lost. The usual village has a characteristic appearance—the houses are on both sides of a long village street, which runs from east to west. Each family with a frontage on the street is responsible for keeping that part clean, and they take a pride in keeping it as clean as they keep the courtyards of their houses. You find a wall fronting the street with a door in it for each house, and passing through this door, you have to go through the cowshed into the courtyard, to get to the home, which will be grouped in one or two or three houses, round the other sides of the square. The typical Santal village usually contains few people of other castes; there may be in this village a 'muci' family, or in that a weaver's family, fairly often there are blacksmiths, but the Santal is happier when the number is small. You will generally find that the chief families within one village belong to the same clan; descendants of the man who founded the settlement and became the first headman. The longer the period which has elapsed, the more you are likely to find

representatives of other clans also living there, but still the chief officials will belong to the original clan. Here is one reason for a Santal's attachment to his own village. His fellow villagers are an extension of the family. So he gets a sense of solidarity—particularly in evidence on all social occasions—and there is still a very large measure of co-operative effort in food gathering, and hunting. Now that they are largely cultivators, and as they have landlords over them, that side of their tribal solidarity is gradually counting for less.

Inside the houses one finds the first and perhaps the most powerful influence which keeps and holds a man's affection towards his birthplace, the shrine of the family ancestors. Perhaps shrine is a misleading word; it is a portion of the ordinary living room cum store room which is the average house, walled off from the rest of the room by a wall two or three feet high, quite bare, and swept clean. No person belonging to a different clan can ever enter it. Here offerings are made to one's own dead ancestors, father and grandfather and further back in some cases, particularly at the end of the month of Paus, and at the time of sacrifices to the clan spirit, whose name in theory must never be divulged, and in practice is very rarely divulged. It is a sacramental place, and if for any reason a Santal abandons one house and builds another, he has to be sure that his ancestors approve of the step and will consent to move with him, or the results may be disastrous.

There are some other sights in the village which call to mind institutions which exercise their sway over the Santal's mind. A little removed from the main street, in some level spot, is the 'akhra'. Here chiefly the younger men and women, but at times every one, dances on moonlight nights, and at festivals it is centre of revelry. Music, dancing and poetry, these are the things which make a powerful appeal. We have scarcely begun to realise yet in India the richness of the heritage of our aboriginal peoples in these respects, a heritage which they are in sad danger of losing. I would not venture on any description of Santal music, but it is essentially dance music. Rhythm is simple and strongly marked, and is all important. Melodies are generally very simple, monotonous for the most part to listen to; they are stereotyped, and change slightly from one area to another and from one singer to another. In spite of the monotony, the soft toned singing of Santals is very pleasing. The songs sung at dances comprise the largest class of Santal poetry, and cover a wide range of human feeling, and as with dance music of other lands, largely erotic feeling. But they do reveal also, a feature which baffles translators, a real sense of poetry, of the matching of sound with sentiment, a matching of beautiful words with thoughts and

traditions which stir the heart. Dancing is an accompaniment of all the festivals, and of every other occasion of general jollification, particularly births and marriages. Different dance rhythms have been evolved for the different occasions, and these are danced only at the appropriate seasons. There are also some which can be danced at any time of the year; and the date of festivals is varied in the same area from village to village, so that friends can visit a round of villages and spend the maximum time in merrymaking. Apart from its chief purpose, the dancing floor is also the usual place for bachelors of the village to meet in the evenings for a smoke and a talk, when the affairs of their world are discussed.

It is appropriate to mention here the vast body of oral literature, the traditions of the tribe, the knowledge of which is now largely dying out among the Santals, except in its main outlines, the traditional songs, sung at certain occasions, and the vast field of folk tales and riddles. The traditions give strong expression to the sense of tragedy which is not far from the surface in the consciousness of the aboriginal peoples of India to-day; the harking back to a time when they really counted in the world, and the looking forward to an uncertain future. On the other hand, the folk tales give expression chiefly to the lighter side of life, with a strong sense of humour and riotous imagination, and when they are told by a born story teller, they can certainly compel the attention of those who are being entertained. The Santals are fortunate in the collections which have been made of their literature, but it is still alive, and there will be a wide field of research here as long as their language is alive, and as long as there are sufficient numbers of them who remain untouched by outside influence.

Another part of the village, which is worth halting at is a space somewhere near the headman's house, generally under a shady tree in the village street, where more serious matters of interest are discussed. Here it is that men meet to discuss matters of interest to the village, be it the fixing the date of a forthcoming festival, or a matter of justice. (Women take no part, officially, in these matters. Though individual women of outstanding personality do often exercise great influence.) The villagers are summoned to a council by the bailiff of the village, one of the regular officials. These are not very orderly occasions, and though they might be said to provide an example of primitive democracy, there is little in the way of parliamentary procedure! There is no voting, but when anything requiring serious disciplinary action is involved, the elders take infinite pains to see that the villagers arrive at a common mind. There are serious obstacles in the way nowadays, for which the Santals are not to blame. When there is some question to be settled which can be

either to civil or criminal courts, a strong temptation is now placed before the aggrieved party. Take for example, laws of inheritance. The ideas of the Santal do not coincide in important details with the law of the courts by which these matters are judged, for they are judged according to Hindu Law, and it is now common knowledge among the Santals that this discrepancy exists. In matters concerning broken marriages, various kinds of irregular sexual relationships, or accusations of witchcraft however, these village councils still retain great powers, and woe betide the man, woman or family which sets itself against the tide of public indignation.

We have mentioned the existence of certain officials. In the village the headman is the most important, and he usually hands down his office to the eldest son. He also has a deputy to act for him. Next in importance is usually the official who can best be described by the term "censor of morals". He and his wife are held responsible for the morals of the younger generation; at the time of the big harvest festival, when a kind of saturnalia is observed for a few days, the young men and women go along to him on the first day, and ask him to turn a blind eye to whatever he may see during the next few days, it being taken for granted that permission will be given. The bailiff is lowest in the scale; he is generally a butt for the general wit, and there are many songs in which gentle fun is poked at him. Then we have also the priest and his co-priest; their functions are different. The chief function of the co-priest being to propitiate the spirits of the boundaries, by taking blood from his own forearm.

The priest fulfils his functions chiefly at the grove outside the village. This consists of a group of 'sal' trees, left standing when originally a clearing was made in the jungle for the dwellings to be erected. Here reside the chief godlings of the tribe, and at the time of great festivals, it is here that the goats or fowls are sacrificed by the priest. Chief among the godlings is the spirit whose name perhaps signifies "Great Mountain", without the invocation of whose name no sacrifice is complete. He it is who made himself known to the first pair of human beings soon after they had been created by the High God, made for himself a firm place in their affections, and taught them how to brew rice beer. Beer is a sine qua non of all festivals, and the seal of hospitality. As the Santals say, "Beer when a child is born, beer when a Santal dies". It is a misfortune that in many parts the Santals are increasingly becoming addicted to the rather deadly spirits which are distilled from the 'mahua' flower.

The Santals of one village retain close relationship with the

Santals of surrounding villages. In the part which I know best, they have their own names for different districts, and they also can give a description of the characteristics of the folk of each of these several districts. In each there is the official known as the "parganath", whose authority nowadays is small; for those larger units even more than the local village councils, have become somewhat meaningless under modern conditions. The Parganath however is often consulted in important judicial matters, and he does his own best to see that he is called in as a consultant, for these affairs will bring him hospitality, a share in the fines, and other small perquisites from time to time. He is also responsible for fixing the exact date of the annual hunt, in areas where this is not fixed on a certain day by tradition. These hunts are still a very live institution for the men of the tribe, one hunt taking place in each pargana. They take place in the hot weather, when the undergrowth in the 'sal' jungles has died back; and it is possible to beat through the jungle. The Santals assemble on the outskirts of the jungle early in the morning, the men of each village keeping together, armed with bows and arrows, spears and axes, while one or two of the well to do may have shot guns, and take up position in a likely place for intercepting the driven game. Throughout the long day they drive through several miles of forest, and the quantity and kind of game varies greatly now with the locality in which the hunt takes place. In the late afternoon they begin to cook their evening meal in a clearing of the forest, and the night is spent by the younger men in revelry, and by the older men in reviewing various cases which are brought before them from the different villages. The dances at this time are danced by men only, and only at this time, and most of the songs are of the "for men only" variety. There is usually a convenient supply of liquor. The court is described by Santals themselves as their own High Court. This is the final court of appeal, and it is here that final decisions are taken in connection with breaches of tribal laws. Next day the men return to their homes, hunting on the way, and taking their spoils with them. These spoils are divided strictly in accordance with tradition.

There are two great shadows on Santal life, one of which may be called supernatural, and the other, artificial. The first is the fear of witchcraft, and the second is poverty. The first fear is never far distant from their minds when they are visited by any unusual calamity, or sickness. They seem to recognise a natural cause for "fever", but any other sickness is due either to the action of spirits or of a witch. (Diseases like leprosy or phthisis are a punishment for sin.) The man to determine the cause of illness is the medicine man, who generally combines certain tricks which he has learnt, such

or feeling the pulse, with divination by means of a simple apparatus consisting of a sal leaf and a few drops of mustard oil. If he decides that a witch is responsible for trouble, the villagers go to a witch doctor in the locality, who will tell them enough to identify the witch. These witchdoctors seem to me to be unmitigated rogues, with their spies everywhere. It is hard to determine the real intensity of this belief in witchcraft; because although the belief is general, there are nowadays always a number of people who are clever enough to make use of it for working off their private grudges.

The artificial shadow is poverty, which is both caused by and is itself a cause of the ignorance and superstition, and the conservatism which has made the Santal an easy prey in economic matters to his more astute neighbours. The story of the alienation of lands belonging to the Santals is a sorry one, and most of the damage was done long ago. There are still flaws in the legislation which was designed to prevent it.

A final word may be said on the measures taken by Government and others in the uplift of these people. For convenience I confine my remarks to Bengal. In this province no effective notice was taken of these people until the opening years of the present century, when it was realised that the ordinary arrangements for primary education in the rural areas were such that the Santals could benefit from them very little. Steps were taken to make special funds available for Santal education and Boards of Santal Education were set up in three districts, in two of which they are still functioning with useful if unspectacular results. Some increase was made in the funds available for this purpose at the close of the last great war, and again in 1941, but these were long intervals, and it is to be hoped that in the next period of reconstruction the Santals will not be forgotten. With reference to the right of Santals to alienate their lands, unfortunately a great deal of damage was done before the government was moved to institute an enquiry and an act prohibiting the Santal from selling his land without special permission and also prohibiting attachment of his land for debt was passed in 1916. A further logical step, to see that this law was not being evaded or misused, was not taken until the appointment in several districts of Special Officers to watch over the interests of the Santals, and this happened first about 1937.

The Santal is not skilled in the art of making his voice heard, but every consideration demands that he be recognized as a valuable asset to the country, though at present he is still backward. He is known for his capacity for hard work, nothing in agricultural or forestry occupations comes amiss to him, he is generally straight-

forward, he is also courageous. It should be our aim to lead him along the path of economic, and spiritual advancement, seeking by every means in our power to preserve all that is valuable in his own cultural heritage, and so enabling him to make his proper contribution to the nation of which he forms a part.

W. J. CULSHAW.

THE HILL TRIBES OF ASSAM

Some of you may be wondering how an individual described, I see in the Notice of the Meeting, as the "Commissioner of Income-tax, Bengal" should be giving a lecture on "The Hill Tribes of Assam". It is a far cry from Clive Street and Burra Bazar to the green hills and primitive tribes of Assam and, indeed, the only connection I can think of between the Income-tax Department and the Hill men of Assam is a negative one and consists in the fact that in the statutory list of exemptions from Income-tax is to be found the following :—

> "The income of indigenous hill men other than persons in the service of Government residing in the following areas of Assam :—
>
> The Naga Hills District.
> The Lushai Hills District.
> The Sadiya Frontier Tract.
> The Balipara Frontier Tract.
> The Lakhimpur Frontier Tract.
> The Garo Hills.
> The Jowai sub-division of the Khasi & Jaintia Hills.
> The North Cachar Hills in the district of Cachar."

But though I have been absent from Assam on loan, so to speak, to the Government of India for nearly 7 years I am really an Assam officer and spent the first 20 years of my service in that province.

As a result I could not help picking up a certain amount of knowledge about the Hill Tribes of Assam. I am, however, no anthropologist and my lecture, I am afraid, will be a more or less superficial account of the various tribes.

But before I begin telling you about the tribes themselves I must tell you briefly something about the geography of Assam.

If you look at the map you will see that Assam is shaped somewhat like a triangle. The top or northern side of the triangle is bounded for some distance by Bhutan and the rest by the Himalayas which stretch in one unbroken line along the northern boundary. On the left or south-western side of the triangle lies Bengal while the right or south-eastern side marches with China and Burma. The administered area of Assam is about 63,000 square miles (about as large as England, Wales and a third of Scotland) and its population is about [redacted] million. I have mentioned "administered area" because there are large tracts of wild and mountainous country in the Balipara

and Sadiya Frontier Tracts (the outer boundaries of which have never been defined) and which are not administered at all.

For example, in my Assam Census Report for 1931, after stating that the areas of the Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts were 3200 and 560 square miles respectively I went on to explain that these figures represented only the administered areas of these Tracts and added the following :—

> "To give some idea of the enormous tracts of unadministered country lying beyond the limits of administration I may mention that the total area mapped by the Survey of India in the Sadiya Frontier Tract amounts to 18,479 square miles and in the Balipara Frontier Tract to 9,587 square miles."

Strangely enough the indefinite nature of the external boundaries of the province in certain places did not (while I was in the Province) give rise to any difficulty as the areas concerned are so wild and, until recently, were of such little importance that it was not worth anybody's while to go to the trouble of demarcating the boundaries.

For example, the boundary with Burma in the Hukaung valley area has never, so far as I know, been definitely demarcated. Occasionally somebody used to start a hare on the matter, and old files were examined and correspondence begun, but as demarcation meant spending a certain amount of money, and as the Province never had any money to spend, and as, in any case, there was no good reason for not postponing demarcation the matter fizzled out in accordance with the well-known precept of administration—"never do to-day what you can put off till to-morrow".

So much for the external boundaries of Assam.

Now looking at the triangle itself you will see that it consists of two valleys with a range of hills between. The northern valley is known as the Assam valley and through it flows the mighty Brahmaputra River. The southern valley is called the Surma valley after a comparatively small river of that name which flows through it. Between these two valleys lies the Assam Range which from West to East is divided into the following administrative areas :—

(1) The Garo Hills District
(2) The Khasi & Jaintia Hills District
(3) The North Cachar Hills (which is a sub-division of the Cachar district) and
(4) The Naga Hills District.

To the east of the Naga Hills is (or was when I left the Province) a small area of non-British territory under the political control of the Deputy Commissioner Naga Hills, and beyond that, a large unadministered area inhabited by Naga tribes in which it might be said

that we were interested but did not interfere. South of the Naga Hills District and adjoining Burma is the Indian State of Manipur which is in political relationship with the Governor of Assam. The only Hill district south of the Surma valley is the Lushai Hills whose northern boundaries march with Sylhet, Cachar and Manipur State. The areas called the Frontier Tracts—the Balipara, Sadiya and Lakhimpur Frontier Tracts—are situated along the northern and north-eastern frontiers.

The administered area of the Balipara Frontier District is really nothing but a belt of reserved forest running along the base of the Assam Himalayas with a clearing in the centre. In the clearing are situated the head-quarters of the Political Agent and of a battalion of Assam Rifles. The whole population of the administered area is only about 6000. Beyond the administered area—in the hills—live the Daflas and Akas—with whom the Political Agent, Balipara, has what is known as "political relations"—an indefinite but very comprehensive expression.

East of the Balipara Frontier Tract is the Sadiya Frontier Tract—an enormous area of which only 3200 square miles are administered. The administered area consists mostly of plains with a fringe of hills. The plains are inhabited by various Assam plains tribes such as the Khamptis, Miris and Singphos, and also by ordinary Assamese as well as by Nepalis and ex-garden coolies. In the hills live various tribes—the principal being the Abors and Mishmis. The Sadiya Frontier Tract, like the Balipara Frontier Tract, has no defined outer boundaries. Beyond the administered area of the tract lie vast ranges of forest-clad hills and snow-covered mountains stretching to the distant confines of Tibet, China and Burma.

Having given you a rough idea of the geography of Assam and the areas where the Hill Tribes live I will now go back to the range of hills which separates the Assam or Brahmaputra valley from the Surma valley and starting from the west endeavour to give you some idea of the various tribes which live there.

The first district we meet with is the Garo Hills which, as its name shows, is inhabited by the Garos—a tribe of about 200,000 persons of whom about 160,000 live in the Garo Hills District. The Garo Hills are rather low hills seldom rising about 4000 feet and the Garos are not generally regarded as being among the most interesting of the Assam Tribes. They are divided into two great exogamous groups called "*Sangma*" and "*Marak*" who are sub-divided into numerous sub-groups.

There is no special clan or class of chiefs among the Garos whose organization is very democratic. Any man who has acquired a certain degree of social status is called a *Nokma*. To obtain this

status the candidate has to provide at his own expense a series of feasts and *Nokmaship* thus connotes the possession of a certain amount of wealth. But when a matter is in dispute all concerned including the women assemble and debate, the chair being taken generally by the *Nokma* if the dispute concerns only one village or by the *Laskar* (a petty magistrate appointed by the Government) if the dispute concerns more than one village.

The Garos used at one time to take the heads of their enemies and after removing the flesh by boiling in water hang the skull in the *Nokma's* house. But this practice has long since died out.

The Garos are not a very interesting tribe. Anybody who wants to know more about them should read Playfair's book on the Garos—one of the well-known series of monographs on the primitive tribes of Assam most of which have been written by officers of the Assam administration.

The next District to the Garo Hills is the Khasi and Jaintia Hills which cover an area of over 6000 sq. miles of which nearly 2/3 rds is not British territory but consists of 25 Khasi States under their own rulers. These States vary very much in importance, the most important being the States of Mylliem and Khyrim each of which has a population of about 50,000 and the smallest being Nongluai which has a population of just over 200. Six of the States have population of less than 1,000 persons. Many of you here must have visited Shillong. Well, it may interest you to know that only about 1/5th of the Shillong Municipality falls in British territory. The Khasis are quite an advanced community and a Khasi was for some years a Minister in the Government of Assam.

The proportion of female literacy in the Khasi Hills is the highest in Assam—more than double that of any other district. It is the women who rule the roost in these hills where society is based on the matriarchal principle and family property descends through the female line. The Khasis are divided into the following groups:—(1) Khasis, (2) Syntengs or Pnars, (3) Wars, (4) Bhois and (5) Lynggams, and into a large number of exogamous clans.

There is no bar to marriage between the groups mentioned above though generally Syntengs marry Syntengs and Khasis marry Khasis but marriages within the same clan are strictly forbidden. For example, a Khasi of the Diengdoh clan cannot marry a Khasi of the same clan and a Synteng of the Lalu clan cannot marry a Khasi of the Diengdoh clan as the ancestress of the two clans was the same.

A Khasi State is a sort of limited monarchy, the ruler's powers being very much circumscribed. The State is ruled by the *Siem* or Chief assisted by a Durbar or Council of Mantries. A *Siem* must belong to the Royal clan of the State. Heirship to a Siemship is

through the female, a Chief being succeeded by the eldest of his brothers and failing brothers by the eldest of his sister's sons; failing such nephews by the eldest of the sons of his sister's daughters and so on.

The Khasi burn their dead after various ceremonies. The bones are then collected and placed in an earthen pot in a bone repository called "*Mawshyieng*." The bones are eventually taken out of this repository and placed in the common stone sepulchre of the Clan. Christian Khasis, of course, bury their dead in the usual way. Christianity has made much progress in these hills which are the headquarters of both the Roman Catholic and the Welsh Baptist Missions and about ¼th of the whole Khasi population now profess some form of Christianity. The Khasis are great cultivators of potatoes and oranges most of which find their way to the Calcutta market.

I regard the Khasis as the most advanced of all the Hill tribes of Assam and they have always appeared to me to be a prosperous and happy people.

Lying between the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District and the Naga Hills District is a sub-division of the Cachar District called the North Cachar Hills. This is the lowest part of the Assam Range and it is through the North Cachar Hills that the railway linking the Assam valley with the Surma valley finds its tortuous way. This railway which is known as the Hill Section is a very fine example of railway engineering.

The North Cachar Hills sub-division has a population of only about 36,000 consisting mostly of Hill Cacharis, Kachha Nagas and various Kuki tribes such as the Biete and Khelma Kukis. These hills are unhealthy and the tribes living there are not of any special interest.

East of the North Cachar Hills and running north-east lies the famous Naga Hills District the headquarters of which are situated at Kohima—a place formerly unknown to anybody outside Assam but now known to the whole civilized world as in it and around it a fierce battle against the Japanese has been in progress for many months.

The tribes inhabiting the British district of the Naga Hills are the finest and the most picturesque in Assam. Here are to be found the Angamis, the Semas, the Lhotas, the Aos, the Rengmas and the Kachha Nagas, while across the border in the unadministered areas are to be found many other tribes such as the Konyaks, Sangtams, Phoms, Changs, Kalyo-Kengyus, etc. It would be quite impossible for me in the brief time at my disposal to give a detailed account of

any of these tribes. But if you are interested I can tell you where you can find out all about them.

Dr. Hutton—formerly a member of the Indian Civil Service and now Professor of Social Anthropology at Cambridge—who was for many years Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, has written two well-known books, one on the Angami Nagas and one on the Sema Nagas. Mr. Mills of the Indian Civil Service who succeeded Dr. Hutton as Deputy Commissioner, and who is now Adviser to the Governor of Assam on Tribal areas, is the author of three books on Naga tribes—"The Lhota Nagas", "The Ao Nagas" and "The Rengma Nagas".

There is also an interesting book called "The Naked Nagas" by Dr. Von Furer Haimendorf (an Austrian anthropologist), published in 1939 which deals in particular with the Konyak Naga tribe most of whom live beyond the administered area.

I have never been stationed in the Naga Hills but I was President of the Manipur State Durbar in 1921-22 and to get to Imphal one has to go through the Naga Hills. There are also several Naga Tribes in the Manipur State and at one time I could recognize to what tribe a Naga belonged by looking at him. I don't imagine I could do so to-day. But the principal thing that strikes a visitor to the Naga Hills or to the Manipur Hills is that he is in a different world entirely and that he is certainly not living in India. Everything is different—the faces of the inhabitants, the dress (or rather lack of it), the customs, the villages—in fact everything.

For example, one of the first things that strikes any one passing through Kohima is that the young Angami women have their hair cut very short just like boys. Theoretically this denotes that the girl is a virgin. Whether it is because the girls get absolutely tired of looking at their closely cropped skulls or for some other reason I do not know, but it is the custom for Eastern Angami girls at the age of 16 or so to enter into trial or companionate marriages. These trial marriages seldom last long and are usually dissolved in a perfectly peaceful way on some trivial pretext. The young girl then returns to her parent's house and from thenceforward has long sleek black hair.

And what about boys? Well, just as the girl advertises her altered position by growing her hair an Eastern Angami boy advertises his success in his first love affair by decorating his short black loin cloth with three rows of cowrie shells. If you see an Eastern Angami with 4 rows of cowrie shells you know that he has obtained further promotion in the courts of love, and that he has either seduced a married woman or has successfully carried on two love affairs simultaneously with two sisters. Even when a man is buried—(the

Angamis bury their dead within the village or by the side of the village paths) the record of his amatory successes follow him to the grave, and I can remember visiting the grave (a stone platform) of an Angami and having it explained to me by the *dobashi* (interpreter) that the numerous small stones around the grave represented the number of women whose favours the deceased had enjoyed. In old days the three lines of cowries meant that the wearer was a warrior—it corresponded in fact [redacted] a general service medal—and the fourth row was only worn by veterans of renown. At present among the Western Angamis anybody may wear 3 rows of cowries while the fourth is supposed to signify that the wearer has taken a head but, as a matter of fact, is now worn by anybody who has thrust a spear into the dead body of an enemy shot by a sepoy or who has accompanied a column in some transfrontier expedition where any fighting has taken place.

The customs as well as the languages of the various Naga tribes differ very much. For example, I have mentioned that the Angamis bury their dead. So do the Lhotas, Semas and Rengmas. The Konyaks, on the other hand, give their dead a sort of air burial, the corpse being exposed on a bamboo *machan* or platform either in or quite near the village. After some days the skull is wrenched off and placed in a pot near one of the village paths. The whole thing to us is absolutely revolting. The following description of a burial among the Konyak Nagas is taken from Von Furer Haimendorf's book—"The Naked Nagas." I have left out the more revolting passages :—

> "It was ten o'clock then, and the wailing continued the whole morning ; so we sat about and waited for the funeral to begin. Owing to the death of their clansman, none of the Oukheang men was allowed to go to the fields—an infuriating taboo when the weeding was pressing but one which I welcomed, for at least I found plenty of informants. They were pleased to pass the time in answering my questions and smoking my cigarettes ; and many pages of my note-book were filled in the hours of waiting.
>
> Early in the afternoon some old men carried an open bamboo bier into the house, and it was not long before I heard a solemn and curiously urgent voice addressing the dead :—
>
> Enter the land of the dead ; do not be afraid and if you are asked whose son you are, say : I am Chinyak, son of Yongmek."
>
> Time after time the same words were repeated ; time after time the dead was enjoined to be of good courage

and to remember whose son he was. Suddenly an old man, wearing Chinyak's ceremonial dress and armed with all his weapons, came out of the house. Sitting drowsily in the shelter of the *morung*, where we had been waiting for hours, we were almost startled by his spectacular appearance. The four old men bearing the bier were completely naked. Hardly had the procession formed than it stopped again behind a house. Hoisting the bier to a platform, the old men covered the corpse with a cloth and a few palm-leaves, and then they tied bundles of food to the platform for the soul of the dead to feed on.

After several minutes of lingering round the platform during which they did little more than look at the corpse, the mourners dispersed; but the relatives were left with the duty of feeding the corpse at meal-times as long as the head was attached to the body.

In the heat of the summer a corpse decomposes very quickly and already on the day after the funeral swarms of buzzing flies surrounded the platform. To make matters worse, Chinyak's corpse had been disposed of in the middle of the village. One gets accustomed to most things, but not to the revolting smell of disintegrating flesh; even the Konyaks are by no means insensible to the evil smell of rotting corpses.

When I went to the village on the sixth day after the funeral, I was told that the head was to be wrenched from the body; however, I decided that I could dispense with this bit of the ceremony, and was satisfied with hearing a description of how the old women of the dead man's family cleaned the skull and removed the rotting parts of the brain. Chinyak's beautiful white skull, housed in a sand-stone urn, was placed by a path on the outskirts of the village, and for three years it will be fed with food and rice-beer on all feast days. The fate of the corpse or rather the bones, is not of great importance; they gradually fall to the ground, and are either forgotten among the undergrowth that soon covers them or are dragged out and gnawed by one of the village pigs. The inevitable destructibility of all flesh could scarcely be better demonstrated! It is only small babies who are disposed of in another way; they find airy resting-places among the birds' nests high up in the branches of strong trees."

But it would require days to tell you of the many curious customs and beliefs of the various Naga Tribes. One peculiar belief that I may mention is that the souls of some men have the power of leaving their bodies while asleep and occupying the bodies of tigers. Such men are called "were-tigers". If a man's tiger is wounded, a similar wound is believed to appear on the body of the man and if his tiger is killed the man dies too.

There are [redacted] sorts of stories about *were-tigers*. For example, one night two Ao Nagas were frightened by a tiger moving noiselessly through the jungle; they fired at it but missed, and next day, arriving at a village, a man met them at the village gate and greeted them with the following question:—

"Why did you shoot at me last night? The bullet missed me by only a few feet."

The system of cultivation in the Naga Hills and in the Manipur Hills also is one of two classes—wet rice or *jhum*. The Angamis cultivate wet rice and terrace the hill sides for this purpose, water being brought by irrigation channels from long distances. An Angami village is always built on the top of a hill or on the ridge of a spur running down from a high range and [redacted] around the village are terraced fields sloping down to the bottom of the valleys below.

On the other hand the Lhotas, Semas, Aos and trans-frontier Nagas cultivate by "jhuming" that is, by clearing land and growing crops on it for two years and then letting it relapse into jungle for from 5 to 15 years. This is the oldest and most primitive system of cultivation in the world. The method employed is as follows:—

The spot for cultivation having been decided on the jungle is cut down and allowed to dry. At the correct season the jungle is fired and the whole mountain becomes a sheet of flame. The soil is then scratched up by means of small hoes and the seed sown broadcast. Across the fields the unconsumed trunks of trees are laid at no great distance apart. These serve as dams to the rain water and prevent the soil being washed away. The fields have to be constantly watched against the depredations of birds and wild beasts and have to be frequently weeded—a task involving much labour. The usual procedure is to sow rice in the first year, following this in the second year with a crop of millet, maize or Job's tears.

In the Naga Hills, and also in the Manipur Hills, the most prized animal is the "mithan" (*Bos frontalis*). The Nagas invest their money in these fine animals as men in Calcutta invest in stocks and shares. Mithan are used only for food and only on special occasions. They are never milked. Cows are also kept for meat but are not milked. The Nagas say they don't know how to milk and in any case regard milk as a nasty drink. Wooden cow-bells are tied to the

necks of mithan and cows, and whenever I go to Simla and hear the tinkling of the bells on the mules there, my mind instinctively goes back to the days when I had to do a lot of touring in the Manipur Hills. All hill men keep pigs. Dogs are numerous and are kept both for eating and for hunting but hunting dogs are not eaten, and when they die they are buried with a cloth in recognition of the services they have rendered to the owners.

Nagas are particularly fond of elephant flesh and eat the whole carcase including the intestines and the skin unless this is wanted for the manufacture of a shield. They will even eat an almost entirely decomposed elephant.

Before I pass on from the fascinating country of the Naga-Hills I think I should mention something about 'head-hunting' which is, of course, now prohibited in British territory but which still goes on beyond the border. The following extract is taken from Dr. Hutton's book on the Angamis :—

> "Head-hunting in one form or another is a widespread practice, and whatever the various incidents of head-hunting in various quarters of the globe, the ultimate reason of its existence in any particular spot must probably be sought in some deep-rooted and innate characteristic of human nature. Among the Naga tribes at any rate, head-hunting, though associated with a vague idea of the benefits accruing from human sacrifice must also be connected in no small degree with ordinary, everyday human vanity. What man, or at least what Naga, who has killed his enemy does not want to boast about it ? And unless he can show the body, where is the proof ? Most savages are somewhat economical of truth ; at any rate the Naga is when it comes to his exploits in war and the chase. If the slayer can produce the body of the slain his statement is likely to be accepted as true, and since retrieving the body would be a laborious, not to say often dangerous, proceeding, the head is the natural part of it to bring back as testimony, as it gives a definite assurance that the foe has been killed, not scotched. This at any rate is the Angami explanation. Moreover, if it can be retrieved, the Angami does prefer the whole body, and if the whole body is not available he will take the arms, hands, legs, and feet of the corpse as well as its head. And in this connection it must also not be forgotten that the Naga does not fight in the open country and under the eyes of his fellows, but in heavy jungle and in raiding parties of

small numbers from one upwards, where none can observe his deeds of daring. Nor does the Naga make so very radical a distinction between human heads and heads of game. Man is the biggest and the most dangerous game and his pursuit is therefore attended with precautions which may be unnecessary in the case of smaller game but he is still game. There is, after all, not so much to separate a sportman's desire for say, a fine buffalo head and a Naga's desire for the head of a man. Most Britishers are head-hunters at heart, and to a Naga every sort of head is welcome. All the skulls of the larger animals killed by him are religiously kept, from that of an otter to that of an elephant, while even the heads of small birds may often be seen nailed to his house. As the Naga kills primarily for food, he recognises no differences in sex or age, and although he undoubtedly takes a pride in killing say, a sambhar with a fine head, yet the heads of does and fawns are hung up as trophies beside it. So it is with his human heads. He recognises no distinctions between human heads provided they have cut their teeth ; if they have not cut their teeth they are not taken. . . . Among the Konyak tribes it is common for a slave to be bought for the chief's son to kill in order that the boy may wear ceremonial dress without risking the dangers of war. The wretched slave is tied up and the boy kills him with a dao, pieces of his flesh being distributed throughout the young men of the *Morung*. This custom brings us nearer to another idea which underlies head-taking, and that is the idea of sacrifice, the notion that the killing of a human being is conducive to the prosperity of the community or of the crops. The idea of the benefit conferred by human flesh, or the taking of human life, is a very strong one among Nagas, though it is perhaps disappearing under the present regime of peace.

It is agreed by all Angamis, as well as by other Nagas, that head-taking was essential to marriage in so far that a buck who had taken no head, and could not wear the warrior's dress at festivals, not only found it exceedingly difficult to get any girl with pretensions to good looks or to self-respect to marry him, but was held up to ridicule by all the girls of his clan. . . . .

Among the Angamis the good old days of head-hunting have gone. Girls who wish to marry cannot now afford to be so particular. The distinctive marks of the

successful warrior are assumed on the fictitious grounds of having thrust a spear into a corpse or even of having gone, as a coolie upon an expedition on which killing took place. But though the flesh is withheld the spirit is willing. Surreptitious heads are still sometimes brought back from punitive expeditions, on which a crowd of interpreters and Naga coolies follow in the wake of the sepoys, uttering loud yells and transfixing with their spears the corpses of the slain. It is related that at the taking of Makware village a Naga clerk of the Deputy Commissioner's staff, educated in speech and civilised in dress, having failed to provide himself with a spear, was seen dancing in vociferous triumph over the corpse of an enemy and with horrid yells plunging his umbrella again and again into the wounds."

But I must leave the fascinating country of the Naga Hills and pass on to Manipur State where I was stationed for about 2 years in 1921-22.

Manipur State covers an area of about 8,000 square miles with a population of about 4½ lakhs. It consists of a fertile valley about 30 miles long and 20 miles broad in the middle of which is Imphal (the Capital). This valley which is inhabited by some 2,50,000 Manipuris (who call themselves Meitheis and who are Hindus) is surrounded by wild hills thinly populated by Naga and Kuki tribes.

In north-east area of the hills live the Tangkhul Nagas, the principal Naga tribe in Manipur. Kukis (the principal clan of which is the Thado) predominate in the west and south. Altogether there are about 7,500 Kukis of different kinds in the State. The Tangkhul Nagas number about 25,000. In addition there are many other Naga tribes such as the Kabuis (10,000), the Kachha Nagas (who are great dancers)—(8,000), the Mao or Sopvoma Nagas (16,000), the Maram Nagas (8,000), etc.

The Kukis are divided into numerous clans *e.g.*, Thado, Paite, Hmar, Vaiphei, Gangte, Kom, etc.

The Nagas in the north of the State i.e., the Mao and Maram Nagas are closely allied to the Angami Nagas who live just across the border in the Naga Hills.

The Tangkhuls are the most interesting Naga Tribe in Manipur and I could tell you some interesting stories about them which, however, are hardly fit for a mixed audience.

The Thado Kukis are also a very interesting people. The principal books on these tribes in Manipur are "The Meitheis" by T. C. Hodson, "The Naga Tribes in Manipur" by the same and "The Thado Kukis" by W. Shaw.

The hill men of Manipur are the hill men best known to me as, for some years, I was responsible for settling their simple disputes and administering what I called "justice". Whether my "justice" appeared to the hill men themselves to be justice I do not know but I think they gave me credit for trying to do my best. In these hills tribal and customary law prevails. There are no lawyers or pleaders and the High Court has no jurisdiction. But to give you some idea of how the system works let me recall as well I can, after a lapse of 28 years, the sort of case I used to try in the Manipur Hills and the procedure adopted.

Imagine me sitting outside a *basha* (built for me by the villagers) near a village in the Manipur Hills. Most of the villagers have gathered to hear the *tamasha*. The Court clerk calls out the first case—it happens to be a civil suit for *mankhat*—or bride-price, for in these hills wives have to be paid for. The plaintiff appears and states his case. His claim may be something of this sort. His grandmother's *mankhat*, he says, was 8 mithan, 2 gongs, 2 cornelian necklaces and 2 ear ornaments of which only 1 mithan, 1 cornelian necklace and 1 ear ornament were paid by the defendant's grand-father and 1 gong by the defendant's father. He, the plaintiff, is due to receive the balance and prays for a decree to this effect. The defendant, on the other hand, states that the grand-mother's *mankhat* was not as stated by the plaintiff and that, in any case, it has all been paid with the exception of one gong which he is willing to pay if allowed time. It is very seldom that in suits of this nature it can be said that any fact is proved, as we understand legal proof in British India, as there are no documents and every one who was present at the negotiations for the grand-mother's marriage may be dead or in any case cannot be expected to remember.

But the bride-price of girls is graded in accordance with their social position in their clan and generally some fairly accurate guess can be made as to what the grand-mother's bride-price was. How much of this was actually paid is generally quite impossible to decide and the only thing the Court can do is, to act as a sort of Debt Settlement Board and try to get the parties to agree [illegible] some com-promise. Occasionally when a settlement proves impossible and both parties are out to fight to the last the case is decided by oath or by ordeal by water. In the latter case both parties dive into a river and hold on to stones at the bottom to keep themselves down. The party who remains down longest wins the case.

But I must pass on and complete my survey of all the hill districts.

South of Manipur State and the Cachar plains lie the Lushai

Hills, a district of over 8,000 square miles with a density of only 16 persons to the square mile.

The word "Lushai" covers many clans and is really an incorrect translation of the word "Lushei"—the premier Clan in the Lushai Hills.

The Lushais are closely allied to the Kukis, and many tribes who, in Manipur, are classed as Kukis, *e.g.*, Mhars and Paites would be classed as Lushais in the Lushai Hills.

The Lushai Hills have been very largely Christianised and at the 1931 Census the percentage of literacy was the highest in Assam.

The following is taken from my Census Report of 1931 :

> "It will be seen that the number of Christians in Assam has practically doubled itself at each successive Census. The hill districts account for most of this increase and of these the Lushai Hills has the most remarkable record. Twenty years ago there were less than 3,000 Christians in that district ; there are now over 59,000 and Christians form very nearly half the total population."

The principal clan among the Lushais is the Sailo. The Sailos were a fighting clan who crushed out of existence practically all the then existing chiefs (except the Lakher and a few Chin chiefs in the south-west of the District) and established themselves all over the hills. The Lushais have the capacity for absorbing other races and the Paites, Thados and other Kuki tribes living in the Lushai Hills are now practically indistinguishable from the Lushais. One reason for this is that Dulien—the language spoken by the Lushais, is the language taught in all schools in the district except in the Lakher villages. Anybody who wishes to know more about the Lushais should read "The Lushei-Kuki clans" by Colonel Shakespeare and the "Lakhers" by Mr. Parry, both of whom were formerly Superintendents of the Lushai Hills District.

I have now completed my survey of the Hills Tribes but I find I have not mentioned the Mikirs who live in an isolated clump of hills in the middle of the Assam valley. The Mikirs are not a very interesting tribe and I have no time to deal with them at length.

The languages of the Hill Tribes of Assam are very interesting. Not one of these tribes speaks an Indo-European language and all the languages spoken (except Khasi) belong to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese Family.

The Tibeto-Burman sub-family has several branches each of which is divided into groups and sub-groups but—so far as we are concerned—the two main branches of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family spoken in the Assam hills are—(1) The North Assam Branch and

(2) the Assam Burmese Branch and of these the Assam Burmese Branch is much the most important. Speakers of the North Assam Branch include the Abors, Miris, Akas, Daflas and Mishmis—most of whom—as I have already mentioned—live in the Balipara and Sadiya Frontier Tracts.

The Assam-Burmese Branch consists of a large number of languages divided into many groups. The first group is called "Bodo". In this group falls Garo and Dimasa or Hill Kachari. Then there is the Mikir group which forms a connecting group between the Bodo and Kuki-Chin groups. The main languages of the Kuki-Chin group are Manipuri (or Meithei), Thado-Kuki and Lushai or Dulien.

Then there is the Naga group which is divided in various sub-groups, *e.g.*, the Western Naga sub-group which consists of Angami, Sema and Rengma; the Central Naga sub-group consisting of Ao, Lhota and Sangtam, the Eastern Naga sub-group consisting of Konyak, Rangpang and Phom and the Naga-Kuki group which includes Tangkhul, Mao and Maram Naga.

The Khasi language belongs to the Mon-Khmer Branch of the Austro-Asiatic sub-family of the Austric family and forms a kind of island of speech in the centre of the province surrounded on all sides by speakers of other families of languages.

Well, I have now got to the end of my lecture which, I am afraid, has been of a very scrappy and superficial nature but it is really impossible within the space of an hour to deal with such an immense subject as the "Hill Tribes of Assam" in anything but a very summary fashion.

What of the future of these people? At present the Lushai Hills, the Naga Hills, the Frontier Tracts and the North Cachar Hills are totally excluded areas under the Government of India Act—that is to say—they are outside the responsibility of the Assam Ministry who have no power whatever in these areas. The Garo Hills and the British portion of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills are partially excluded areas—just like Darjeeling District in Bengal. These are, so to say, within the constitution but the Governor has a special responsibility.

I am afraid that it would not be possible for me as Government servant to air my own views on this matter at a public lecture, but there can be no doubt that it would be quite impossible in some of these totally excluded districts, *e.g.*, the Naga Hills, to introduce modern democracy. The people really have Self-Government at present and run their own show in their own way, according to their own customs and beliefs. Can you possibly imagine a naked Naga with a spear in his hand walking into the Assam Legislative Assembly

as a representative from the Naga Hills? He would not understand a word of any language spoken in the Assembly and wouldn't have the faintest idea of what it was all about. In fact if I were sitting in front of this gentleman I should take particular care to see that he had no lethal weapon in his possession as I am sure I should instinctively feel his eyes examining the back of my head with a view to deciding whether my skull was worth adding to his collection.

I conclude with an extract from a broadcast talk by the Governor of Assam:

> "British India can be regarded as liberated, and our forces which were fighting in Kohima and the Naga Hills are well into Manipur State" declared Sir Andrew Clow, Governor of Assam, in a talk on the Kohima battlefront, broadcast on Monday night from the Calcutta Station of All-India Radio.
>
> "I would say a word about the people who live in these Hills," the Governor continued. "Most people think of the Nagas as savage head-hunters, of interest mainly to anthropologists. In the few places where our administration has not penetrated, life is still primitive and head-hunting still goes on at times. But over most of the hills that is a thing of the past. Life has been changing in many ways and the war has greatly speeded up the process.
>
> Some of the Nagas are serving in the army; others are in auxiliary corps of various kinds. They have proved adept in dealing with motor transport and no stretcher-bearers of any race deal so gently and skilfully with the wounded. That is because for so many generations every villager in the jungle where wounds are so easily come by has had to act as a doctor.
>
> They are a courageous, cheerful and friendly people and the havoc the campaign has brought to them and their lands has not daunted their courage or sapped their loyalty. They are already returning to Kohima and the surrounding villages with their wives and children, to build up their life there again.
>
> The traitorous appeals from Burma had no effect on them and they look to us for help in restoring the ravages of war. With active assistance from the Government of India that task is now being undertaken. But it will, I hope, be possible in the future to do more than replace looted food and rebuild destroyed homes. The Nagas

have seen something of war of a more savage kind than the most primitive of them ever waged; we shall have to show them that civilization can bring better gifts, gifts of prosperity and gracious living, gifts of fellowship and peace among men."

C. S. MULLAN

SIKKIM

Sikkim lies to the north of Darjeeling District, its southern boundary being about 350 miles north of Calcutta. The Sikkim State at present is roughly 3000 square miles in area being about 80 miles from north to south and about 40 miles from east to west. It is situated within the Himalayas, part of the southern area being below 1000 feet above sea level and the general height of the northern area being about 14,000 ft. above the sea.

Although so small a country, it is filled with features of surprising interest. The physical geography of Sikkim cannot fail to astonish. The country contains some of the highest mountains in the world and has over 20 peaks whose summits are more than 20,000 feet high. This mountain system is pierced from the south by deep gorges. The country's climate too has remarkable features. Other parts of the Himalayas are protected from the direct impact of the monsoon current by mountains or receive it after it has suffered deflection. Sikkim receives it by frontal assault. The damp winds pour up the deep gorges right beyond many of the highest mountains. All who talk about the weather should have had the experience of a day's rain in one of Sikkim's lower valleys. Heavy rain in the lower valleys, prodigious snow fall on the high peaks contrast with clear rainless skies over certain areas where mountains prevent the monsoon reaching. With this physical geography and diversity of climate, one need not be surprised that there are landslips and avalanches of startling dimensions or that the botany and entomology are very remarkable. There must be few parts of the world where you could find more orchids, ferns, mosses, lichens, tropical forests, temperate and alpine forests, butterflies, leeches and insect pests than in Sikkim. Amid all this luxuriance, one delights to find flowers and butterflies which are known in England and on the march to pick and eat fruit one recognises such as strawberries, raspberries and red and black currants.

The eastern and western boundaries are long ridges running north and south. On the west on the Nepal boundary you will find north of Kinchinjunga a ridge which is very high, exceeding in many places 20,000 feet. Running south from Kinchinjunga the ridge continues past Kabru (24,000 feet) and another peak of 22,000 feet to a pass (18,000 feet) and then gradually down until it reaches Phalut (12,000 feet) on the Darjeeling District border.

Kinchinjunga itself is the greatest unscaled height in Sikkim. It

has five summits and five glaciers surround it. Not only is its enormous height an obstacle but the terrible avalanches and the steepness of its slopes make ascent from most directions impossible.

Entering Sikkim from the south where the Teesta at its junction with the Rangeet leaves the State, let us now study the river system.

The Rangeet and its tributaries flow from the Nepal boundary ridge and the area south of Kinchinjunga. The valley of the Kulhait, one of these tributaries, is even now one of the most prosperous in Sikkim. In former days there was no doubt it was the most prosperous part. Here was the capital and here were the richest and most important monasteries. The gorges holding the rivers flowing from the north are deep and the monsoon penetrates far up to the foot of very high mountains. The result is the ridges to be seen from Yoksun and Pemiongchi are covered in close succession with tropical, temperate and arctic forms of vegetation.

Proceeding up the Teesta we find for some distance the main tributaries are from the east. On one of these lies Gangtok the present Capital. Up [redacted] these valleys the monsoon flows freely as far as the Tibetan frontier. The resulting damp and cold at the head of these valleys suits the rhododendron which thrives up to the upper tree limit. Lower down are the tropical forests, enormous rainfalls and heavy landslips.

The two main routes into Tibet pass up through two of these valleys, the one from Kalimpong over the Jalap La; the other from Gangtok over the Nathu La. Opposite on the right bank of the Teesta are the mountains of Tendong and Mainom and at Singhik we come to a point where the river takes a right angle bend. Here the river is 3000 feet above sea level. It is joined by the Talung Chu from the west and one can see right up this valley from the river at one's feet, 3000 feet above the sea, to the top of Kinchinjunga (28,000 ft.). You can expect no more vivid picture than the one you get here of the way the gorges of the Sikkim rivers reach up amongst the highest mountains.

At Chungthong (5,300 ft. high) the two rivers Lachen and Lachung join to form the Teesta. Up the Lachen valley we do not get clear of tropical vegetation and rainfall until near the village of Lachen (8,800 ft. high). We are now in alpine scenery. Rainfall is still heavy but it seems to have lost its tropical violence.

Proceeding up the Lachung from its junction with the Lachen and passing the village of Lachung one leaves on the east routes into Tibet over passes of 15,000 and 17,000 feet high. At Momesamdong (15,000 ft.) the tree level has been passed and a route westward to the Jhachu is met. The valley ascends until the Donkhya La (18,150 ft.) is reached. Up to this point the monsoon current

penetrates. Beyond it and the line westward to the pass at Giagong on the Lachen the damp Sikkim currents of air cannot pass and to the north of this line is a strip of desert country, not less than 15,000 feet high, dry, high, bare and swept by the central Asian winds. It is climatically a part of Tibet. The Lachen flows through it, taking its rise from the Teesta glacier and the Cholamo lake. Through this area pass routes to important places in Tibet northward to Khāmba Dzong, Shigatse and Lhasa, eastward to Phari Dzong.

No general account of Sikkim would be complete without some reference to Hooker, the famous botanist, general scientist and explorer who visited the country in 1849. He was not a man who was afraid either of distances or discomforts. He calmly remarked in the preface to his "Himalayan Journals" that, after having been to the Antarctic with Sir James Ross, he found he had a choice of going to the Andes or the Himalayas. He arrived in Calcutta on the 1st of January, 1848, at a time when practically nothing was known of the geography or botany of the Central or Eastern Himalayas.

His "Journals" make most interesting reading because much of what he recorded happens to one to-day or can be seen and recognised by the traveller who now visits the same places.

Difficulties in getting permission to enter Sikkim caused Hooker to explore Nepal first and he entered Sikkim from Nepal by the Chiabhanjan pass. He moved forward *via* the Kulhait valley and the pass between Mainom and Tendong to the Teesta to pay his respects with Dr. Campbell to the Raja. Dr. Campbell was then the Superintendent of Darjeeling. The meeting took place but Hooker thought they were rather poorly received by the Raja.

After the visit was finished, Hooker returned to explore the Kulhait valley. First visiting the monasteries there, he proceeded northward *via* Yoksum and climbed a mountain called Monlepcha 16 miles south of Kinchinjunga. His camp was at 15,000 feet altitude and being a conscientious scientist his first operation on arrival was to sink his ground thermometers. "The earth being frozen for 16 inches deep, it took four men several hours work with hammer and chisel to penetrate so deep." Other pleasures of camping are in Hooker's words:—"As darkness came on, the temperature fell to 11 degrees and it snowed very hard. I sat for some hours behind a blanket screen (which had to be shifted every few minutes) at my tent door, keeping up a sulky fire and peering through the snow for signs of improvement. My heart sank as the fire declined. The searching wind drifted the snow into the tent whose roof so bagged in with the accumulation that I had to support it with sticks and dreaded being smothered. The increasing cold

drove me to my blankets and taking the precaution of stretching a tripod stand over my head so as to leave a breathing hole by supporting the roof if it fell in, I slept soundly. At sunrise the sky was clear: about two feet of snow had fallen and the minimum thermometer had been down to 24 degrees. My light hearted companions cheerfully prepared to leave the ground."

Hooker's feelings correspond almost exactly to one's own when camping in snow at high altitudes. The same discomfort, depression and cold. No furniture, and bedding spread out on the frozen ground! Outside, the men in the open all night coughing as the snow falls. When he arrived the yak attendant merely spread out his 2'×2' square of yak hair blanket on the snow, turned up his collar and coiled himself up to sleep warmed only by the breath of his yak which stood dully through the night knee deep in snow. This is a poor photograph of the scene. Just as in Hooker's time all the men rise with the sun laughing and singing as they pack up the camp.

Hooker returned to Darjeeling and left again some months later on a second trip—this time with the object of reaching the Tibetan frontier. The Sikkim authorities were not keen at all on this exploration. However, Hooker went forward *via* Namchi, Temi and up the Lachen—as far as Kangralamo digressing up the Zemu and Jhachu rather to botanise and catch butterflies. He then moved up the Lachung and on the 9th of September, he reached the Donkhya La (18,250 ft. high). His description of the view is a vivid one—"the Tibetan view from its novelty, extent and singularity demands first notice. The Cholamo lake lay 1,500 feet below at the bottom of a rapid descent: it is a blue sheet of water three or four miles from north to south and one and a half broad. The Lachen flows from its northern extremity and turning westward enters a barren valley bounded on the north by red stony mountains which though 18,000 or 19,000 feet high were wholly unsnowed. Beyond this range lay the broad valley of the Arun and in the extreme north west distance to the north of Nepal were some immense snowy mountains 120 miles away reduced to mere specks on the horizon. The valley of the Arun was bounded on the north by very precipitous black rocky mountains sprinkled with snow and beyond these again snow-topped range rose over range in the clear purple distance. The most remarkable features of this landscape were its enormous elevation and its colour and contrast with the black rugged and snowy Himalayas of Sikkim. All the mountains between the Donkhya Pass and the Arun were of a yellowish red colour rising and falling in long undulations like dunes". He goes on:—"the absence of trees, houses and familiar objects to assist

the eye in the appreciation of distance throws back the whole landscape."

Hooker contrasts vividly the variety and profusion of vegetation at lower altitudes with the meagre botany at the heights. At 14,000 feet in the Lachung valley he remarked " trees and shrubs ceased, willow and honeysuckle being the last" and at Momay (16,000 feet) " there is not a bush six inches high and the only approach to woody plants were minute creeping willows and dwarf rhododendrons with a few prostrate junipers". At Bhomtso (18,600 feet high) " one plant alone, a yellow lichen is found at this height and that only as a visitor". On a summit 19,000 feet high near the Donkhya La " an arctic lichen grew on the top so faintly discolouring the rocks as hardly to be detected without a magnifying glass".

Hooker now went down below Chungthang to meet Dr. Campbell and they both came up to the Kangralamo pass. This time Tibetan troops were there but Hooker was so determined to see the forbidden land that he slipped past the Tibetan soldiers and rode 10 to 15 miles forward to reach the Cholamo lake.

Hooker and Campbell were allowed to go through Tibetan territory and cross the Donkhya from the north. From here they went down to meet the Raja at Tomlong but they found he had gone to Chumbi in Tibet. They were turned back by Tibetan soldiers on the frontier and shortly after Campbell was arrested by the Dewan. This was the 8th of November and it was not until the 24th December that he was released. They were then both allowed to cross the Rangeet and ride up to Darjeeling.

Hooker was a pioneer and after him have followed many explorers, mountaineers, scientists and students of race, religion and philosophy. I have no time in this lecture to give you any account of the many mountaineering and scientific expeditions which have visited Sikkim. For these you must refer to the journals and travel books dealing with Sikkim explorations.

The early history of Sikkim is obscure as there is little on record except personal accounts of the ruling family. Tibetans called it the land of rice. In early times it would seem that southward communications were more difficult than they are now. The Terai—as the country at the foot of the hills near Siliguri is called—was mostly uncultivated and probably covered with scrub, grass or tree jungle. The area now known as the Darjeeling District, as well as the southern part of the present Sikkim, was undeveloped and covered in dense forest, sparsely populated by the woodland tribe known as the Lepchas who lived in the valleys below 6,000 feet by a primitive method of cultivation by which patches of forest are

burnt down and for a year or two the ground so cleared is made to produce crops.

The boundaries of Sikkim have varied considerably from time to time but in early times the western boundary reached probably as far as the Arun river in Nepal. On the south Sikkim included what is now the Siliguri sub-division of the Darjeeling district and on the east the Chumbi valley of Tibet and most of what is now the Kalimpong sub-division.

Descendants of the royal family of Tibet are said to have entered Sikkim *via* Chumbi and Hah in Bhutan. From them were descended the chief families of Sikkim and the family of the present ruler. The first Raja of Sikkim, Penchoo Namgyal, was born in 1604. He is said to have been proclaimed Raja by three Tibetan Lamas who had arrived at Yoksun. It is supposed that much of his time was taken up in subduing or gaining over tribal chiefs east of the Arun. In his time and in that of his successor colonisation of the country took place from the North East with its centre in the Kulhait valley. [redacted] was in this valley that important monasteries were built—some open only to Tibetans. The palace at Rubdentse on the Rangeet was completed before 1700 A.D.

Family quarrels now brought in the Bhutanese who occupied the country for five or six years. The Raja fled *via* Nepal to Tibet and returned after the Bhutanese had evacuated the country except the Kalimpong area, which from this time was lost to Sikkim. Control of Sikkim continued mainly in the hands of leading Tibetan families, although about 1733 the original inhabitants the Lepchas and Limbus became restive. In the years following 1770 powerful and agressive rulers appeared in both Bhutan and Nepal. The Bhutanese first invaded Sikkim. After they had been driven out, invasion was threatened from Nepal and temporarily diverted by some movement of Tibetan troops. War however continued and battles were fought in the Tarai—then called the Morung. In 1787 the Sikkimese were defeated in that area and in 1788-89 a Goorkha force crossed the frontier at Chiabbanjan and surprised the Sikkimese in the Kulhait valley, overrunning the whole of Sikkim south and west of the Teesta. Peace, arranged after the Goorkhas had been defeated by Tibetans and Chinese at Khatmandu, left the boundary on the left bank of the Teesta with the Raja deprived of all his lands in Tibet. For some years after, the Kulhait valley and all the area south and west of the Teesta paid revenue to Nepal. In 1815 however the Nepalis were defeated in war by the British Government and, according to the treaty of 1817 they abandoned all Sikkim territory east of the Phalut ridge and the Mechi river. The western boundary of Sikkim had thus moved back from the

Kanyi but the Terai and the Darjeeling and Kulhait areas were recovered.

Two British officers engaged in investigating disputes on the Nepal frontier were attracted by the position of Darjeeling and at their suggestion Government resolved to negotiate for it at the first opportunity. This occurred in 1834 when some Lepcha refugees from Sikkim made an inroad from Nepal into the Sikkim Tarai and in 1835 the Maharaja made an unconditional grant of a small tract of hills round Darjeeling. In return an allowance was granted to the Maharaja.

Under British Administration the Darjeeling area developed rapidly. The population rose from 100 in 1839 to 10000 in 1849 and immigration took place from Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. In all three countries slavery prevailed and immigrants were glad to get away to Darjeeling where men and trade were free and there was plenty of suitable forest land available for colonisation. This rapid development of Darjeeling became a source of trouble with Sikkim. It excited the jealousy of the Dewan who was a monopolist of all trade in Sikkim and he and the Lamas were dismayed to find that they lost all rights over slaves who escaped to British territory. Kidnappings from British territory of escaped slaves were frequent and incidents culminated in the arrest of Dr. Campbell. He was released in December 1849 but two small expeditions and the annexation of the Tarai and the Sadar and Kurseong sub-divisions of the Darjeeling district were needed before disputes ended.

Meanwhile the British desire to open up trade with Tibet became a source of friction. Agreements with Sikkim provided for the opening of roads to promote this trade. Tibetan authorities became alarmed at the prospect of interference with their monopolies and profits: fearing no doubt also political advances. The Sikkim Government reacted similarly and sought closer co-operation with Tibet. In 1886 a British Mission was preparing to enter Tibet to negotiate for better trade facilities; in deference to Chinese and Tibetan pressure it was decided to abandon this mission but, before effect could be given to this decision, Tibetan forces had crossed the passes and built a fort at Lingtu in Sikkim. In 1888 a military force was sent against this fort and the Tibetans were driven over the Jelap La into Chumbi which was occupied for a day. After protracted negotiations a convention was signed with the Chinese in 1890 which laid down the boundaries of Sikkim and Tibet as the watershed of the Teesta and its tributaries.

Now followed a period of reform in administration which was directed by the Political Officer. The Raja attempted to escape to Tibet via Nepal. He was captured by the Nepalese and handed over

to Government. For sometime until 1896 he was interned in Kurseong.

The convention of 1890 was repudiated by the Tibetans. At the same time Tibetan troops occupied the tract north of Giagong thus showing that they repudiated also the frontier terms of the convention which laid down the watershed of the Teesta as the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet. The Government of India were not particularly interested in this strip of barren ground and were quite ready to give it up for something tangible in the way of improved trade. The course of negotiations was remarkably slow because the local Tibetan officials professed complete inability to transmit any written communications to the Lhasa authorities and the Government of India insisted on conducting all negotiations through Peking since they considered China a suzerain power over Tibet. Things livened up somewhat when it became known that Tibet had sent an envoy to Russia and in June 1902 the Political Officer was sent to Giagong with a force of 200 to assert rights to the strip. The Tibetans who also claimed the Lhonak had built a wall across the pass and the Khamba Jongpen was there with 40 men. The British took up their position in the neighbourhood of Khamba and occupied the intervals of negotiation by prowling about surveying. They noted that in the disputed area there were 6,270 sheep and 787 yaks, of which 1,108 sheep and 80 yaks belonged to Sikkimese. More interesting was a statement on the value of the grazing on those parts,—"casually looking at the ground you would say that there was no grass on it, but on close examination a few blades appeared. To watch a flock grazing on these few and scanty blades was a curious sight. The sheep literally run over the ground, those in front eating and those behind running on ahead to find an ungrazed spot." It is not surprising that the Government of India were more interested in trade with Tibet than in this piece of barren ground. The Younghusband expedition to Tibet confirmed the boundaries of Sikkim as being those settled in 1890. After 1904 the History of Sikkim is without particular political incident except for the passage through the State of the Dalai Lama after the Chinese had occupied Lhasa in 1910, and the passage of the Chinese troops when they were driven out by the Tibetans some years later.

Military operations in Sikkim were never very extensive and were almost entirely directed against the Tibetans. In the operations of 1888 the main difficulties were those of transport and climate. The enemy undoubtedly had inferior weapons and their strategy was based on a combination of assiduous wall building with the acquisition of invulnerability to enemy bullets obtained by religious processes. The walls they built were very picturesque but

of little use. The one they abandoned near Lingtu was 800 yards long, eight or ten feet high and five feet thick. It was loopholed and had a round tower at each end and a large gate in the centre. The wall was everywhere climbable.

Sikkim was on the line of supply for the Younghusband expedition of 1903. There was trouble with the animals and conditions must have been severe for Tibet was invaded in mid winter. The Nepal Government presented 500 yaks for transport purposes but the mortality among these in the damp Sikkim valleys from rinderpest and foot and mouth disease was phenomenal.

A history of Sikkim will not be complete without some account of the population. You will remember that Lepchas were the original inhabitants of the lower valleys of Sikkim. When opportunity was favourable for bringing under cultivation the forests of these valleys, the Lepchas lacked the qualities needed for this task : their temperament was too indolent and casual—the more efficient Nepalis immigrated in large numbers and to a great extent displaced the Lepchas in the areas they had always considered their own. This process was not always a peaceful one but things had settled down by 1891 when the total population of Sikkim was 30500, of whom 19,800 were Nepalis, 5,800 Lepchas and 4,900 Bhutiyas and Tibetans. Nepalis were thus 65% of the total population. Since 1891 the population has increased considerably and the 1941 census shows a total of 122,000. The increase has been more or less continuous and in the last decade was between 10 and 11%. Immigration seems now to have ceased, presumably because all available land under 6000 to 7000 feet has been colonised and there is no other industry except agriculture [redacted] support the population. The Nepali element of the population in 1941 was 82,500 i.e., 67% of the total population. It seems therefore that they have gained slightly on other communities since 1891 in spite of the cessation of immigration. But Lepchas are by no means dying out as their present number is at least twice that of 1891 and may be as much as four times greater. The Bhutiya and Tibetan population has also increased considerably.

So much for mere numbers. And now what are the people like to meet and how do they live? The visitor sees as a rule what is on the surface and to him all classes seem cheerful, hardy and affable. Below the surface, one has to guess a good deal and try and sum up their religious and cultural background. Illiteracy is still remarkably high and this probably means that the forces of custom and traditional religion are still strong.

Consider first the Lepcha. He has become a Buddhist but the Buddhism he has adopted contains much of the demonology of his ancestors and seems to concern itself mainly with the propitiation

of evil spirits and malignant deities. The Lepcha was a man of the woods with an indolent casual temperament. He had an interest in the life of the forests and made a good collector for botanists or entomologists : a peaceful man and no brawler. It has been said of him that he had no conception of private property until he learnt it from the Bengali trader. Formerly everything belonged to the chief absolutely and he as a rule allowed his subjects to retain possession of as much of what they acquired as he did not immediately want but this was only by way of loan. The individual had thus no motive for amassing property as he could not expect to keep it.

Compared with the Lepcha, the Nepali and Tibetan and Bhutiya are more effective and aggressive. The Nepali is a Hindu and not free from superstitions. He is a good cultivator, if perhaps improvident. He eats many things forbidden to strict Hindus and even the highest Nepalis take water from the hands of pork eating Bhutiyas. The Bhutiya is more the herdsman and the traveller than the cultivator or the woodman. More truculent and heavier built he thrives in the higher and colder plateaux. He too follows the Buddhism of demons and evil spirits.

Buddhist worship in Sikkim is based on the theory of the cycle of existences over which lies a complicated ceremonial of worship of which the main object seems to be the propitiation of malignant spirits and deities.

Of the apparatus of the Buddhist religion that comes to notice are the monasteries, the *mendongs* and *chortens* and the various mechanical means of praying. The monasteries are usually located on prominent features of the landscape. They own much land and wealth and have much influence and authority over the lower classes. They draw recruits from all classes and have the monopoly of education. For the masses they supply the ceremonials of the monastery and the performance of services at marriages and funerals, the propitiation of evil spirits with much beating of drums, blowing of horns and reciting of texts. Displayed prominently in most monasteries are pictures of the cycle of existences and it is " the hope of a rebirth in a better condition of life that buoys up the Buddhist in his faith."

The practice of praying by mechanical means (prayer flags and prayer wheels) and by mechanical repetition of the formula, " Om mani padme hum " or by the telling of beads is universally accepted. The formula has been variously interpreted and perhaps the best is "my refuge is the veneration of religion in this world." The modern Buddhist, however, does not concern himself much with the interpretation of the sacred formula. It is sufficient that it has been

transmitted to him from generation to generation as good and salutary to be repeated as often as possible and he firmly believes in the supernatural powers it possesses to preserve from evil, from misfortunes and from sin.

A. J. Dash

JUNGLE LIFE IN BENGAL

Something which was said in the course of a discussion meeting here some weeks ago illustrates from rather a strange point of view how great an influence the life of the jungle has upon the lives of all of us—greater indeed than perhaps we suspect. It was during the course of discussion on primitive forms of worship that more than one speaker referred to the prevalence of snake worship among the primitive rites of mankind, and I wonder if many of us then called to mind the undoubted fact that the fear of the snake is inborn in almost all of us—so much so that it is with difficulty that we can bring ourselves to handle even snakes which we know to be perfectly harmless. This inborn fear of snakes is not the only instinctive fear that we know of, for a certain number of people of whom for example the late Lord Roberts is said to have been one—have the same instinctive and in this case unreasonable fear and dislike of cats. The reason for the instinctive fear of snakes and cats must be very deep seated as it comes to most people from the time of their birth without any teaching—and those of us who believe in our evolution from an ape-like form must be very tempted to connect these instinctive fears with the fact that the two great enemies of the apes among the trees are the snake and the great cat, be it leopard or jaguar or other prowler of tropic jungles. In Kipling's Jungle Book you will remember that the monkey folk of Cold Lairs feared no enemy except Kaa the great snake and Bagheera the black leopard.

This I suggest to you is an example of how intimately the life of the jungle is bound up with our own lives—and leads naturally on to the question how far it is true that animals have ever adopted and reared human children as Mowgli in the Jungle Book was reared by the wolves. Some of you here must have heard of the wolf children of Midnapore and as I have sometimes been asked if the story of these wolf children is true, it may be of interest to you to know that the story is perfectly true; I know the jungles where they were found, and I have seen the house where they lived though Mr., and Mrs. Singh the Missionaries who looked after them were most unwilling to let them be seen by casual visitors. There were two of them named by the Singhs Kamala and Amala. They were found along with some adult wolves and two cubs in a cave in a Midnapore jungle near the boundary of Mayurbhanj State in 1920, and taken charge of by Mr. and Mrs. Singh. Amala the smaller died not long afterwards but Kamala lived till 1929 when she died

at apparently about seventeen years of age. When they were found the children were to all intents and purposes wolves in human form; they loped about on hands and knees, fed upon raw meat, and howled as wolves do at more or less fixed times during the night. By the time Kamala died she had reached approximately the mental development of a human child of two years old; she could speak a number of words and form very simple sentences: she walked upright though with some difficulty, and instead of tearing off her clothes as she did at first she had begun to take interest and pride in them.

Besides Kamala and Amala stories of wolf children elsewhere have gained currency; these two are as far I know the only authenticated cases in Bengal.

Wolves however are not common in Bengal; it is only in the westernmost districts that they are found and when found are usually if possible killed, for we have not in this Provincee the strange superstition that elsewhere often prevents a wolf being killed, namely that the ground on which a wolf's blood is shed becomes unfertile.

We have however our own superstitions of the jungle, many of them quaint and incredible but often widely prevalent. Appropriately enough, they are very current in the lonely half light of the Sunderban forests, where the wood cutters still fear the tiger so much that they dare not pronounce his name but call him "Boro Siyal" or big jackal. I was once amazed to hear a Sunderban wood cutter refer to a neighbouring and much dreaded tiger as the "Boro Kabuliwallah." This wood cutter, like many other Sunderban wood cutters, probably came from the village of Barsakati in Bakarganj—but it would seem that the tall money lenders from Kabul with their baggy trousers and big-stick methods of recovering debts whom we often see in Calcutta, must have found their way at times to that remote village.

Another strange superstition prevalent in the Sunderbans is related to the fact that when a wood cutter is killed by a tiger, the corpse is often left where it is and the tiger shot by a concealed shikari when the animal returns to his kill. The legend goes that when the tiger is approaching, in order that the avenging shikari shall have full notice of it before the sound of the approach is audible to mortal years, the corpse raises his arm and points to the direction whence his murderer is coming.

Another and far more charming story told by the people of the forest relates to the domed weaver bird's nests which most of us must have seen hanging like woven bulgy bottomed jars on trees in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. If you look inside one of these nests you will see that it is divided into two compartments, a big round compartment at be bottom of the nest and a smaller compartment

inside like an upper storey at the top of it. In this upper compartment you will find little pellets of clay or mud stuck on the walls probably really in order to prevent the nest swinging about too much in the wind, but the forest story is that while the hen is sitting, the male goes out and catches fireflies which he sticks in the pellets of mud to prevent his lady getting tired of the dark.

Needless to say this story is a pleasant invention—but there is a perfectly true story of another form of a bird husband's attention to his sitting wife. This is the horn-bill, a large bird with a correspondingly large beak—almost toucan like in its size—which lives in our denser forests. When the time comes for the eggs to be laid, the hen deposits them in a hole in a tree—just as woodpeckers and coppersmiths do—and proceeds to sit on them. Whether for her protection from snakes and small animals or for some other unguessed reason the male bird proceeds to wall up almost the entire hole with mud or other dirt so that she is in effect bricked up as effectively as if she had been an erring nun. From then onwards till the young birds are hatched and ready to fly the male bird feeds the hen through a small aperture left open for the purpose.

Another strange belief which has had sad consequences upon one of the finest of the animals in our jungles is that the horn of a rhinoceros has not only the property of neutralising poison placed in a vessel made out of it, but is, when powdered, a powerful aphrodisiac. In consequence these horns command a very high price in certain places and it is said that as much as Rs. 2,000 has been paid for one of them. It is not therefore to be wondered at that though rhinos have long been protected by law in our Bengal forests, systematic poaching was carried on in the dense savannah and forest land frequented by these animals. Vigorous efforts have however been made by the Government of Bengal during the last ten or twelve years to detect and stamp out, this poaching and a reserve of some forty square miles has been established by the Forest Department where the rhinos can live and breed unmolested. It is less than two months since I had the opportunity of visiting this reserve and it was not long before we came across a big male rhinoceros half submerged in a pool of muddy water not more than fifteen yards away. Contrary to expectation he did not seem to object to the presence of the elephants on which a Forest Officer and I were sitting, and only stared at us for some time with his great ears twitching in semi-surprise till he rose and disappeared up a bank and into the jungle with a gait something between a shamble and a canter.

Unlike the rhinoceros the wild elephant is in no danger of extermination and in some areas particularly sub-montane tracts of Jalpaiguri and the district of Chittagong there are large herds of

them. Unfortunately in Chittagong the cultivated fields are very much interspersed with jungle patches and in consequence the elephants find good and easy foraging on the crops as it were on their doorsteps. Every effort is made to lessen their numbers including periodical operations for catching them alive, termed Keddah operations. As these operations have so often been described in print I need hardly say that they consist of gradually shepherding herds of elephants into a wide-mouthed passage between camouflaged fences which gradually narrows into the entrance of a powerfully built stockade. Over this entrance there is a drop gate which can be let down by cutting a rope. When the elephants have been unsuspectingly shepherded into the wide-mouth of the passage they are gradually driven down it without being frightened into stampeding till it narrows down towards the stockade gate. Fires are then lighted behind them to prevent them turning back and a noisy army of men letting off bombs and waving torches hustle them forward and through the gate which is then let down enclosing them. Then begins a most interesting process of using tame elephants called Kunkies to rope up the enclosed wild elephants so that they can be led into captivity. These Kunkies ridden by men carrying ropes go into the stockade and proceed to hustle the wild elephants about without harming them until they are a rather tired and dispirited group ready for roping. All this time the men have sat on the Kunkies' backs shoulder to shoulder with the wild elephants and the first time I saw it, is seemed to me inevitable that one of the waving trunks of the frightened and angry captives would pluck off a man to be stamped to death. This, however, I believe, never happens and it would almost seem that the wild elephants regard the men as a part of the strange herd of their own kind who are intent on hustling them about but are not trying to hurt them. Sometimes the riders take the risk of slipping to the ground, and roping the wild elephant's legs, but this is not done always. Eventually one by one the captives have rope nooses, arranged so as not to close to strangulation tightness, slipped over their heads and they are led out of the stockade by the Kunkies—two Kunkies being sometimes required for a specially large captive. The older elephants however seem generally to accept their fate with resignation and the majority of the trouble is given by the little babies, so small that their trunks hardly reach the ground. These little animals scuttle about like rabbits under the bellies of the bigger ones and it is about as much trouble to rope one as it is to catch a flea in a big bed. When it is roped instead of marching off with dignity like its elders it braces its little forelegs and does its best to drag a Kunkie three times its own size back into the stockade. Eventually,

however all the catch is taken to a shady grove of big trees conveniently near some water and the final task of getting ropes on to the legs of the captives for tethering them to the trees is taken up not without some apparent risk as it has to be done by men on the ground, and by now the captives have no illusions as to what they are and make determined efforts to "go for them" in the process. Eventually however the whole catch is tied up and the process of training them by giving them food and drink and what they love best of all, taking them for a bath—begins. In an incredibly short time, for the elephant is one of the most tameable beasts in the world, they settle down in harmony with their keepers and in a few months time if as usually happens they are well-treated they become fully trained and ready for work. Fortunate is the owner of a good elephant if he has the requisite duty or the leisure enabling him to spend time in the depths of the forests or in the great savannahs of north Bengal where the grass is so tall that it sometimes closes not only over the elephant but over the rider's head. Under these conditions he is free of the secrets of the jungle, for the animals and birds are used to the sight of wild elephants and hardly move out of the way as he comes quietly along. I have watched from the back of an elephant in the early morning the sambar on the banks of a stream finishing his morning drink, the peacock gleaming in blue and green sitting over-head, and a mother otter with a family of cubs diving noiselessly for fish while the cubs hunted each other in play over the sand and in and out of the water.

Apart from birds and beasts our jungles have strange and interesting fishes to shew us. I am prepared to be told that fishes are surely out of place in an account of jungle life, and that they belong to the rivers or to the sea and not to the jungle. Nevertheless what I say is literally true: You can hide yourself in the Sunderban jungles and watch strange little fish called mud-skippers come out of the water and with the help of their front or pectoral fins on each side of their body, using them like forelegs, travel about on the muddy shore, and on occasion if they are pugnaciously inclined square up to each other like a pair of boxers, resting on what must surely be the first step in the evolution of fins into legs. Nor are they the only fish out of water, for just as in England eels sometimes come out of the rivers and travel by night across country, so in the Bengal fields at the onset of the rains you can sometimes see a small dark olive coloured fish called the "Koi" obviously making its way across country from one pool to another. This little fish is common in Bengal and though it does not appear on the menu of clubs and restaurants, it is, as probably some of us here know, a particularly nourishing and easily digested tit bit for convalescents.

A much rarer cousin of the "Koi" is the archer fish which has its mouth contracted into a sort of a beak with which it is said to aim a drop of water at a fly or other insect sitting on some herbage overhanging the water and like the archer it is named after, literally shoot it down for its breakfast.

Digressing for a moment to other strange methods of catching prey I once shot a large crocodile in the Sunderbans which when skinned proved to have only just swallowed a vulture which was not at all decomposed and had obviously not been dead long. What must have happened is that the vulture while sitting, as they often do on a piece of carrion floating on the water was spotted by the crocodile, and like a fish taking a fly from the surface of the water the crocodile must have risen with a mighty splash and swallowed the vulture. It would have been interesting to have been a few minutes earlier on the spot and to have seen this actually taking place.

Returning to the fish life of the Sunderbans there is more that is strange and of interest there than can be compressed into a talk of this sort. We have great rays, fishes shaped like skates, which have organs on the side of their heads with which they can inflict electric shocks, and among the sharks which are common off the coast there is one known as the hammer-headed shark from the fact that its head is shaped like a hammer with the eyes on the projecting parts on each side. The fins of this shark provide the shark fins which figure as an edible delicacy on Chinese menus, and before the war put an end to the trade a colony of Chinese fishermen used to come down each cold weather [illegible] the Sunderbans and dry the fins of these sharks for export to China.

Before leaving the Sunderbans it is interesting to note that in the warm coastal water it is not uncommon to see one of the most interesting primitive survivals in the world namely the King Crab or fiddle crab. It is shaped like a crab with the same hard shell but instead of having its abdomen permanently turned upwards and tucked in underneath its body as we see when we turn a crab over, the fiddle crab has earned its name by having a long projecting piece behind it, giving it something of the appearance of a fiddle. Structurally it is only remotely, if at all, related to the crabs but owe its special interest to the fact that it is in all probability the only living survival of the great class which included the trilobites, the fossil hunter's great prize from strata ranging from the Cambrian to the Carboniferous. I have once or twice tried to bring these interesting creatures up from the coast alive, but they do not seem to survive removal from their natural haunts for any length of time. We have another survival of past times which is occasionally found

in Bengal forests. This is an animal known as the Slow loris, one of the group of climbing animals called lemurs which form a link between the monkeys and other mammals. It is monkey-like in appearance but has a sharper and more foxy-face and for some unknown reason, while all the rest of its fingers and toes have flat nails as those of human beings and monkeys have, the second toe of its foot has a pointed claw. In ancient Geological times during the period called the Eocene before men or monkeys had appeared on earth lemurs were widely distributed in the world and appear to have made their way southward from the northern parts of the old world before the island of Madagascar had been cut off from the African mainland. This area appears to have been particularly suitable to them and after its separation from the mainland by sea, they have survived in considerable numbers there, while in the rest of the world they have become almost extinct, a very few surviving in other islands or in deep forests, as in Bengal. The name lemur is the Latin word for a ghost and judging by our Bengal form with its nocturnal habits and large spectral round eyes the name is well deserved, and has gained further fame by being transferred from this group of animals to Lemuria the so-called lost continent between the western shores of India and the east of Africa. Madagascar is the main surviving part of this tract of land and from the prevalence of the lemurs there, the name Lemuria has been adopted for that ancient continental area. In Bengal, the animal has been given the name of lajjabati banar or bashful monkey from its retiring habits and slow shy movements.

I have still left unmentioned one of the most striking forms of life in our jungles namely the butterflies and moths of which Bengal has a wonderfully rich and varied store. Indeed it is said that our Teesta valley shares with the valley of the Amazon the reputation for being the richest haunt of butterflies in the world. Naturally it would be impossible to give any adequate description of them but among them is of particular interest one of the most famous examples of protective colouration in the world namely the dead leaf butterfly. It used to be and probably still is given a prominent place among examples of this protective colouration in the Natural History Museum in London, where the show case exhibited it clinging with closed wings among real dead leaves on the twig of a tree and its mimicry of the leaves by its shape and colour and even by an apparent midrib and veins was startling.

It is not uncommon in the Teesta valley, and attention is attracted to it by the orange and blue colour of its upperside when it is in flight, and its apparent sudden and almost mysterious disappearance when it settles with closed wings.

Another form of protection has been acquired by some day flying moths who closely resemble hornets and bees though in fact they are in no way related to them. This is evidently nature's provision to save them from birds, lizards and similar greedy enemies who are deceived into thinking that they carry the concealed sting of the insects which they resemble and therefore leave them alone. Examples of this sort of protection though found in Bengal are not very common, but any visitor to our jungles particularly in Jalpaiguri or Darjeeling districts will be able to see many examples of another form of protective mimicry which is striking enough to have earned a special name among naturalists. It is known as Batesian *mimicry* from the great South American traveller and naturalist Bates who first discovered it in the latter part of last century.. In effect it consists in the fact that certain butterflies presumably by secretion of unpleasant juices are not attacked by birds, while butterflies of the edible groups such as swallow tails or whites have in a few cases succeeded in protecting themselves by mimicking the appearance of a distasteful butterfly and thus escaping attack. Those who are interested in butterflies must have discovered examples of this mimicry for themselves, and probably have been as puzzled as I was, how to classify the butterflies in question when I first came across them.

Many more examples of the strange ways of nature, sometimes so purposeful and at others apparently so purposeless can be found in our rich and varied jungle life of Bengal. What I have been able to describe is but the merest fringe of the great and rich pattern of nature's handiwork, in which there is so much to see and learn that we can never come to the end of it. All that we can hope for and what we can surely attain is our own store of memories of the ways of the jungle, a store of never failing interest wherever we are and whatever we do.

L. R. FAWCUS.

FOOD AND GAME FISHES OF BENGAL

As Director of Fisheries, Bengal, I am sure you would like me to say something about the high price of fish in the Calcutta and Mofussil markets during the last few weeks. The recent floods have, however, eased the fish front and by inducing Hilsa to abandon its marine abode have provided us with an abundant crop of this species and in sympathy with [redacted] the prices of all other fish have come down considerably and are still showing a marked downward trend. The present comparatively favourable position of the fish market has induced me to say a few words about fish trade in Bengal and for this I crave your indulgence. At the very outset, I wish to say that if we had refrigerating or processing facilities and good communications, without detriment to the potential fishery resources of the province, we could provide enough protein food for all. In these days of shortage of meat and other types of first class protein foods, such as milk, eggs, etc., the fisheries of the province have assumed special importance and it will give the public some satisfaction to know that the Government have undertaken an immediate expansion of the Department of Fisheries so as to ensure a speedy programme of the rehabilitation of fishermen, production of fish in all types of suitable waters to ensure regional self-sufficiency, processing of surplus quantities that cannot be transported from the fishing to the consuming centres and proper marketing of fishes so as to bring the prices within the reach of all. I wish, however, to impress that any programme of food production takes some time, specially when an organisation has to be started from scratch and practically the whole of the staff has to be trained. However competent a staff of experts may be, they cannot be magicians and have to abide by the laws of nature when dealing with organisms with set habits and periods of reproduction. It will be pertinent on my part, therefore, to request the public not to be impatient.

It was remarked in pun in a local daily paper a few weeks ago that if fishes knew that the Department of Fisheries was growing and, therefore, they should also grow, much benefit could result to the public. I wish to assure that if there [redacted] co-operation between the public and the Department, we shall be able to educate the fish to grow as fast as the growth of the Fishery Department. May I avail myself of this opportunity to illustrate this point with an example. Recently a tank at Dacca was desilted and enlarged, but the work was not completed in time to enable the Department to manure its bottom properly so as to make it suitable for fish culture.

The tank began to fill up with sepage and rain water and the owner was anxious to stock it with fish. An examination of the water showed that there was no natural fodder in it so the owner was advised to delay the stocking operations by four to five days and we undertook to manure the water. After four days the water became greenish blue in colour showing the growth of phytoplankton and its examination revealed that zooplankton had also appeared in abundance. The tank was then stocked mainly with the fry of *Catla* and *Rohi* and a few *Mrigal* about an inch or an inch and a half in length and you will no doubt be surprised to learn that after a fortnight *Catla* had attained a size of 3½" to 4" and after 30 days *Catla* attained a size of 5" to 6" and *Rohi* a size of about 8". So in this particular tank *Rohi* had shown a much better growth in the course of a month only. This has produced an excitement in the locality and the people have realised that fish can be made to grow fast by providing them with suitable and adequate nourishment. The growth of a fish depends upon the natural and added fodder store of the pond in which it lives while its taste depends upon the quality of the food it takes. If people realise this simple fact and practice it by co-operating with the Department of Fisheries, we shall have taught the fishes to grow as fast as we would wish them to. A fast-grown fish, but not too fast, is always tasty

Shortage of fish supplies for the Calcutta market is a chronic trouble though greatly accentuated in recent months by the military demand which is considerable, shortage of ice for transporting fish in fresh condition, increased civil requirements owing to cent per cent increase in population, transport difficulties, restriction of fishing areas in the Sundarbans and along the foreshore, destitution among fishermen and the hardship and inconvenience felt by them in procuring food supplies and consumer goods at reasonable rates, and the increased purchasing power of an average labourer in the Greater Calcutta area. Those of us who have fixed salaries have no doubt suffered but businessmen, especially contractors, and labourers are practically unmindful of high prices and thus their increased purchasing power has become a real danger to the health of an average citizen so far as his nutritional requirements are concerned.

In 1937, Dr. Albert W. C. T. Herre, formerly the Chief of the Division of Fisheries, Manila, Philippine Islands, after making a thorough study of the Calcutta markets observed:

> "When one visits one of the largest Calcutta fish markets for the first time he is surprised by the relatively small quantity of fish seen, the limited varieties of species exposed for sale, and as a natural sequence, the comparatively high price of fish".

If you examine the position of Calcutta on the map, you will notice that a considerable length of winding estuaries has to be traversed before marine supplies can be brought to Calcutta. In the absence of quick motor transport and plenty of ice this source of supply is denied to us at present. It is for this reason that a considerable proportion of salt-water fish is imported from the Orissa and Ganjam Coasts by rail. Fisheries round about Calcutta within a radius of about 30 miles have deteriorated considerably owing to early reclamation of low lands and the silting up of the Bidyadhari and the Hooghly rivers. Though there are 'Salt Lakes' near Calcutta, they do not form the spill area of the Bidyadhari as they used to do about a couple of decades ago and thus these extensive nurseries for fish have become comparative unproductive. Local fisheries at present contribute only 10 per cent. of our supply while the rest has to be imported from outside places. When you visit a place like Hasanabad, only 40 miles distant from Calcutta, where approximately 1/3rd of the fish brought to this assembly centre is thrown back into the river as unfit for human consumption owing to lack of ice, the part ice plays in the fish trade is fully brought home to us. We receive considerable supplies of fish from Orissa, Bihar, United Provinces and Assam, but certain Provincial Governments have controlled exports of fish and issue licences for this purpose of a very limited amount. This has also influenced the Calcutta market. I hope I have elucidated to some extent the causes of high price of fish. It is time now that I should start the real subject of my talk this evening.

In dealing with the Food and Game Fishes of Bengal, obviously it will be impossible for me to deal with the enormous number of species of fish which afford both food and sport in Bengal. I shall, therefore, confine my attention to a few typical groups of marketable fishes. Though all game fish may be used as food, all food fishes do not provide an exciting sport. To a Bengalee, *Rohi*, *Catla* and *Mrigal* not only provide excellent food but also sport because the successful catching of a large and shy-biting *Rohi* and *Catla* requires both skill and patience. In the treatment of my subject, therefore, there is likely to be a certain amount of overlapping as between food and game fishes.

Among the food fishes of Bengal, the first place must be assigned to Hilsa which is now on the run and provides the largest fishery of the province during the rainy season. It is an anadromous fish which ascends all the rivers of Bengal for breeding purposes. During recent years considerable knowledge has been collected about its bionomics and life-history but much more still remains to be

investigated. From record catches in 1934 and 1939 and from a study of the age groups of random samples of the 1939 crop we have envisaged a five-year fishery fluctuation of this species and predicted a bumper crop in 1944. When the rains came in May and the rivers were flooded we did have a bumper crop and it is no exaggeration to say that considerable amount of fish had to be thrown back in the river at Goalundo as there was neither enough ice for preservation in fresh condition nor salt for salting. Later owing to the vagaries of the rainfall the *Hilsa* rush stopped, but with the favourable monsoon it has started again and let us hope it will continue till the winter fisheries start in the Sundarbans and carp catching areas.

Second in importance are the Carp, *Catla*, *Rohi* and *Mrigal*. These species are extensively used for stocking tanks and there is no species in the world that can beat *Catla* in the rapidity of its growth under favourable conditions. The three species feed at different levels and, therefore, for the full utilisation of a pond it is necessary to stock them together. Best results are obtained if the fry consist of 50 per cent *Catla*, 30 per cent *Rohi*, and 20 per cent *Mrigal*, *Bata*, *Kalbaus*, etc., and strict vigilance is kept that no predatory fish enters the tank. Unlike the European Carp, they do not breed in tanks embanked on all sides but freely breed in rivers and flooded rice fields and in certain Bundh-type of tanks in the Midnapore, Bankura and Chittagong districts. The eggs in the case of tanks and larvae in the case of rivers are collected with ingenious devices and transferred to nursery tanks. There is thus a well established fish fry trade in Bengal and most of you must have seen *Handies* with live fry being carried about in the streets of Calcutta.

Embanked paddy fields in the Abad areas of the Sundarbans provide excellent nurseries for the young carp which by feeding on weeds and insect pests of paddy, help in the growth of the plant. A large-scale experiment on paddy-cum-fish culture is being conducted at present and is expected to yield good results.

Incidentally I may mention that according to military specifications, these tank fishes are not to be given to British troops but the trade got over the difficulty by calling them 'Indian Salmon' which is included in the specification.

The third group to which I wish to invite your attention is that of Cat-fishes, rechristened by trade to meet military specifications as "Butter-fish" and "Indian Haddock". They are rather coarse fish and some like *Boal* and *Pangas*, are believed to feed on carcases and are, therefore, not eaten by high class Hindus. There are, how-

ever, among this lot some smaller species which are known as *Bachha* and *Pabda* (true Butter-fish) and are considered good eating.

The next in importance is the group of *Jiol Machh*, a composite term used to denote a variety of fishes of diverse affinities but with one common characteristic, that is that they are capable of breathing atmospheric air direct and can, therefore, be marketed in a living condition. Those of you who have had a chance to go to a fish market must have seen that a separate section is reserved for the sale of such fishes. The principal varieties are *Magur*, *Singi*, *Koi*, *Lata*, *Saul*, etc. They are considered to be highly nutritious and invigorating and are prescribed as diet for invalids.

Now I take up a miscellaneous lot of fish and of these *Bhetki* is well-known to visitors of English restaurants. This fish is the most highly priced and is, therefore, cultured in enclosed *Bheries* in in the Sundarban Abads. It follows shoals of *Hilsa* and other food fishes and is predatory in its habits. Considering the amount of fish food that it destroys for the building up of one pound of its flesh, it is not a paying proposition to culture it but its great demand, high price and ready sale are great incentives for its culture. The seasonal Mango-fish is another delicacy which comes up the river for breeding during the mango season. It belongs to a family, the giants among which are known as 'Indian Salmon'. Then we have Jew-fishes some of which grow to a considerable size and are known as 'Indian Cod', 'Indian Haddock', 'Indian Whiting', etc. Among the freshwater fishes reference must also be made to the group of Feather-backs which are prized as food but are destructive to smaller fish and should, therefore, be eradicated from tanks. The group of 'Chanda' fishes is a heterogenous assemblage of pomfrets and similar other varieties.

The Mullets form an important group of our estuarine fishes and are in great demand by the military. Mud fishes, like *Sol*, *Sal* and *Lata*, have earned the trade name of 'Black Mullets' so that they can also be included within military specifications. *Bangon*, *Parsia* and *Khorsula* are the three important species but as the first grows to a large size, it is in great demand by the European. *Parsia* makes up in numbers what it lacks in size. *Khorsula* lives in large shoals and though it is not easy to catch it on account of its aerial vision, it is trapped by ingenious devices at low tides.

I have finished with what I had to say about food fishes and before giving an account of the game fishes I hope you will not mind a slight digression. Those of you who have never been to the river side in Calcutta or in the estuarine areas should make it a point to study the mode of life of a Mud-skipper for it shows what efforts

our ancestors had to make to leave water and gain a foothold on the land. The Mud-skipper is neither a food fish nor a game fish, unless you want [redacted] catch it by chasing for then you can have lot of excitement, but it shows wonderful adaptations in aerial vision, mode of locomotion, respiration, etc.

By game fish are meant those species which are generally fished for in clear running streams by means of rod and line. On the analogy of the exclusive use of the term game fishes for Salmon and Trout in England, the term in Bengal should be confined to Mahseer, Katli, 'Indian Trout' and Goonch.

The premier place among game fishes is deservedly occupied by the Mahseer, which is a popular name given to a variety of Indian Large-scaled Barbels of clear running streams. According to Thomas, the author of the *Rod in India*, 'the Mahseer shows more sport for its size than salmon' and Mr. Mackay of Travancore has written to say that 'The Mahseer is every bit as fine a fish as our salmon, and very often a more determined fighter.' In Bengal waters, there are three species of Mahseer. In one, *Barbus* (Tor) *putitora* (Hamilton), the length of head is considerably greater than the body. This is the commonest species and is generally known as Golden Himalayan Mahseer. The Greyhound and the Thick-lipped varieties are included under this species. In the second type of Mahseer, *Barbus* (Tor) *tor* (Hamilton), the head is considerably shorter than the depth of the body. This is the Deep-bodied, Red-finned Mahseer of the anglers. In the third type, *Barbus* (Tor) *mosal* (Hamilton), the length of head is almost equal to the depth of the body. This is the Copper Mahseer. The first species is recorded to grow up to 9 feet, the second up to 4 feet and the third up to 6 feet. *Barbus mosal* is more common in Burma than in the Himalayan waters.

The *Katli* resembles the Copper Mahseer in its general facies but is distinguished from [redacted] Mahseers by the character of its interrupted post-labial groove. In a *Katli* freshly taken out of water, the iris of its eye is of a deep copper colour whereas it is yellowish in Mahseers. Further, no Himalayan Mahseer possesses tubercles on its snout whereas in *Katli* tubercles are present in both sexes. The colour varies considerably with habitat and for this reason anglers have recorded it under several names such as the Chocolate, the Olive, the Black and the Red Mahseer. In general habits, *Katli* is similar to Mahseer and as a sporting fish there is little to choose between the two, weight for weight. It is a much smaller species, rarely exceeding 10 lbs. in weight or 2 feet in length, but specimens over 20 lbs. have been recorded. It is unfortunate, therefore, that

this much smaller species is taken on much too heavy tackle which rarely gives him a chance to show his power.

The "Indian Trout" belongs to the Carp family. There is no indigenous representative of the true Trout, Salmonidae, in Indian waters though the Brown Trout and the Rainbow Trout have been successfully acclimatised in several parts of India but not within the limits of Bengal. The Indian Trout not only resembles the true Trout in possessing scattered black and occasionally red spots on the body, wide oblique mouth and graceful form, but it also sports like a Trout, and it is particularly for its sporting qualities that it has earned its present name. It grows to about a foot in size and usually weighs under two pounds, though there is a record of a 5-pounder caught in Assam.

The Goonch is not a sporting fish of any value, but it lives in Mahseer waters and is often caught on rod and line. The smaller specimens generally give fairly good sport, but the monsters of the Ganges apparently give but little play. It grows to about 6 feet in length and to a weight of over 250 lbs. and, owing to its formidable teeth and predacious habits, is termed 'Freshwater Shark.' It is usually found at the very head of a rapid. Its colour and form vary a great deal. The fish is a 'Living Fossil,' having existed for the past five million years or more with little evolutionary change, for its remains are known from the tertiary deposits of Sumatra and the Siwalik rocks of India.

S. L. Hora

IMPACT OF WAR UPON THE INDUSTRIES OF INDIA

Even at a distance of a hundred and thirty years it is clear that the Battle of Waterloo was won only to a limited degree on the playing fields of Eton, and that the victory of the Allied arms was compounded of other things as well as personal courage. In the interval, many of the old conceptions have gone completely and warfare has taken on an entirely new shape, with a steadily increasing emphasis upon its economic aspects. To-day the business of movements and supply is regarded as of only slightly less importance than the actual strategy of the battlefield and, of course, there is this important difference between World War Numbers One and Two and anything that went before—the sort of conflict in which we are now involved demands the whole of the energies of the State (and almost the whole of the energies of the individuals comprising the State); whereas earlier wars were almost exclusively the affair of the small minority of professional soldiers, which of courses is the only reason why the almost interminable wars of the eighteenth century were in any way tolerable to common man in Europe. In no other department of a nation's life is the sharp change from peace to war conditions so noticeable as in its industry, and the purpose of my talk to-night is, as its advertised title suggests, to ascertain how far Indian industry has been adapted to war conditions and what sort of contribution it has been able to make to the victory which we now know awaits the United Nations.

In order to make anything like a valid assessment of the place of Indian industry in the common cause, I must first recapitulate some of the more general considerations governing the economics of warfare, in which industry plays an indispensable part. It is not enough to say that because India in the year before the war occupied the eighth place in world trade, and the United States of America were at the top of the list, the two should therefore bear the same relationship when we come to measure their output in terms of stores and munitions of war, the maximum production of which calls for organisation and resources of quite a different kind to those which serve us best in times of peace. Let us, therefore, for a moment consider certain first principles of the economics of modern warfare.

The overriding economic necessity in war is to take as much as possible of the nation's resources in man-power, in manufacturing capacity and in raw materials away from their ordinary work of

providing for the needs of the people, and to set them to the task of fighting the enemy, either at the actual fighting front, or in producing munitions and equipment for the troops. Men and materials are taken away from useful production—that is, maintaining and increasing the standard of living of the people—and set to production that is *useless*, save for the destructive purposes of war itself. "The more men and materials can be released from useful purposes, the more will be available for war; and since the demands of war are unlimited, it follows that the task of a nation at war is to cut its normal, peaceful, useful consumption to a minimum—to reduce the standard of living, for the duration, to rock bottom. Incidentally, the difference between this rock bottom standard of living, and the standard of living the nation would otherwise have enjoyed, is the real cost of the war. It is represented by the necessities, the semi-luxuries, the out-right extravagances—all the useful, good and pleasant things of life—that we consumed before the war but will not be able to consume during the war, because the labour and materials that went into them will be needed for the war. The loss of these is the measure of the real economic cost of the war while it is on."[1] But this is a digression. I am concerned to-night with the extent to which India's resources in industrial man-power, manufacturing capacity and industrial raw materials have been pressed into the task of fighting the enemy.

Let us, for a moment, consider what India possessed by way of industrial assets in 1939—industrial assets which might be pressed into the service of war. I am not concerned with the State's permanent ordnance factories, of which a number are maintained in this country at all times, and which as you may remember were surveyed, just before the war, with a view to bringing them right up to date, by a body of experts known as the Chatfield Commission. What I want to try to list are the ordinary consumer industries which form by far the larger part of the industrial potential on which the authorities might draw. First and foremost in the list, I place the steel industry which, quite obviously, is the basis of all armaments production, as well as of such vital wartime enterprises as ship-building, strategic railway construction and so on. Steel is an essential component of a very wide range of war stores and appliances, and its availability or otherwise to a large extent conditions any country's war effort. Here in India, thanks entirely to indigenous enterprise, we possessed a relatively small but efficient and significant steel industry. The Tata Iron and Steel Company

1 Ways and Means of War—Geoffrey Crowther.

is the largest single steel producing unit in the British Empire, the big British concerns now consisting of mergers of various plants. In addition to Tatas there is the smaller, but extremely modern and up to date Steel Corporation of Bengal which came into production just about the outbreak of war. In 1940. India produced a little over one million tons of steel ingots; in 1941. the figures increased to over a million and a quarter tons, and in 1942, it passed the one-and-half million tons mark or just about one per cent of what the total world output was in 1940. Nothing to shout about you may say; but the fact is that India's own output of steel represented just that amount of production on the spot that was essential if she was to play her part as one of the great Eastern arsenals of the United Nations. In consequence, the Indian steel industry was the first of our front rank national industries to feel the full impact of the war, and the first to go over wholly and solely to war production.

From the point of view of the country's offensive and defensive power, the really big achievement of the Indian steel industry between the last war (when its output was very largely confined to the manufacture of steel rails for Mesopotamia) and this, *is the manufacture of armour plate.* Armament manufacturers do not normally communicate details of their processes to the world or to one another, even when they are fighting on the same side, and there was some surprise at the outbreak of war when the Army authorities virtually said to India's chief steel producer "of course we know you can't provide us with a real armour plate, but give us the nearest thing to it," to be told in reply that the Company, anticipating the war had been researching on an armour plate for several years, and were able to embark on the production of [redacted] first class armour plate which met the most stringent official tests. You can imagine that a great many consequences began to flow from India's new found capacity [redacted] manufacture armour plate, and armour piercing steel, and it is not necessary (nor indeed have I the time) to enumerate them all to-night. But I may say that, hand in hand with the production of armour plate, has gone the manufacture of other hard steels which are urgently required for the construction of machine tools, of which considerable numbers are now being made in this country. At the same time it has been found possible to make steel wheels, axles and tyres, which are key items in the long list of things which are of sovereign importance for victory. In India, as elsewhere, the steel maker is in the van of new enterprises, and in addition to the ordinary manufacture and supply of normal quantities of structural products and carbon steel India, since the war, has manufactured a rich variety of new

types of special steels including bullet-proof armoured plates for the fabrication of armoured fighting vehicles; bullet-proof rivet bars for the manufacture of rivets for use on these vehicles; a special austenitic steel for the electrodes employed in the welding of armour plates; a special alloy steel for the manufacture of shear blades, require for the purpose of shearing armour-plates; high-speed steel for machine tools; bullet-proof plates for Howitzer shields and gun turrets on armoured fighting vehicles; thick proof plates of special alloy steel composition for the proofing of armour piercing shot, composite plates to withstand the attack of a 2-pounder shot, and chrome-molybdenum alloy steel bars for the manufacture of Mint dies, for high explosive shell for various calibre guns, and for rolling into sheets for ordnance requirements; nickel steel plates for gun carriage mountings; special deep drawing quality steel for cartridge cases and for rifle and machine-gun magazines; a special high-alloy nickel-manganese, non-magnetic, steel developed at the request of Government for use in the manufacture of service helmets; stainless steels for surgical instruments; steel rounds for the manufacture of hammers for fuses, special quality Basset type trawler bed plates of cast iron for the Director of Ship building; plates of varying thickness for Admiralty floating docks; special steel sheets for the manufacture of food containers for the fighting units; high sulphur steel for the manufacture of nose containers for H. E. aircraft bombs, special quality alloy steel bars for the manufacture of magnets for the Government Post and Telegraph Department; and nickel-chromium-molybdenum steel bar sections for the manufacture of parachute harness equipment. This does not exhaust the list, but I must pass on, asking you to bear in mind that all this is in addition to the many other civil and official uses for which steel is required, and also to remember that for a long period of the war imports of steel from abroad were literally impossible. The Indian steel maker has done his bit, and more than his bit for the cause of victory.

When we come to look at India's very substantial textile industry we are confronted with a picture which forms a much bigger proportion of world output than was the case with the steel industry. India's cotton textile industry is amongst the most important in the world, there being over 400 power driven mills in the country, with Rs. 43½ crores of capital at charge, and 100 lakhs of spindles, on which are employed half a million operatives on day shift alone. Furthermore, the handloom industry represents additional manufacturing potential of very considerable dimensions. Our jute manufacturing industry is the biggest in the world, and virtually

controls world prices. There are also half a dozen big woollen mills in the Punjab and South India, as well as a handloom industry, which the Tariff Board estimates consumes more than 60 per cent of the Indian wool clip, but as nobody has ever yet been able to calculate the latter, with even approximate accuracy, the figure of 60 per cent does not really mean very much. Silk manufacture, hitherto very largely a cottage industry, is also beginning to develop as a factory industry, and we must rank its post-war prospects as not without promise. But it is upon the cotton and jute industries that the war has made its biggest demands, and these two industries in turn have made a worthy response. Up to the beginning of 1942, Government's war demands for cotton goods amounted to about 20 per cent. of the industry's capacity; last year it rose to 25 per cent. involving an expenditure of Rs. 75 crores. During the current year, i.e., 1943-44 the authorities will spend in all about Rs. 70 crores with cotton mills on Supply account, and output at present is running at the rate of 540 million yards of cloth a year which helps to make amongst other things 10 lakhs of garments a month for the fighting services. Large quantities of tentage (of which about Rs. 12 crores worth was purchased last year), anti-gas fabric, camouflage material and a dozen other things that the serving soldier requires either as an individual or as a member of an army are amongst a wide range of cotton products to the war. Mr. Hydari, the Secretary of the Department of Government, most closely concerned with the cotton textile industry, recently stated that the effect of one cotton cloth movements control order was expected to be the saving of 25,000 wagons a year to the railways, and this figure is, I think, sufficient to give you an idea of the vastness of one of India's oldest industries—one which it may truthfully be said is in the war "up to the neck."

To turn to the woollen industry, it is curious to read in a Punjab Manual of 1911 that the "hand-weaver finds it increasingly difficult to compete with the cheap shoddy article of Europe, which beguiles the simple customer with their excellent feel and finish". The period of the last war—1914-18—gave an immense impetus to the whole Indian woollen industry, and all the mills and many handlooms were completely devoted during these years to the provision of war supplies. In the intervening period, however, competition from Italy, Japan, Germany and Poland (though not, be it noted, from the United Kingdom) was exceedingly severe and in the early thirties many of the mills passed through very difficult times. History, however, has a habit of repeating itself, and another war has brought a fresh wave of prosperity to the Indian

woollen industry. I have not been able to ascertain the rupee value of orders placed by the Supply authorities for woollen goods, but it must amount to a very large sum of money, when one contemplates the quantities of such articles as blankets, putties, felt goods, vests, mufflers, hose and the like which have gone from Indian producers to the various fronts. Quite obviously the most intricate processes of manufacture have been concentrated in the factory. But speaking generally of all branches of manufacture in India, organising and focussing the small units has constituted an ever present problem for the Supply authorities. And by organising and focussing, let me be clear that I do not mean rationalisation or regimentation, as those processes are understood in the West. In the case of India's small and cottage industries it means, in a very real sense, beginning from the beginning. But the advantages are crystal clear. A lot of raw material that would otherwise lie dormant is being brought to light, and skilled labour in out of the way places is now being harnessed to the economic system of the country. Conditions vary from one part of India to another, and one thing which has impressed itself very forcibly upon me is how much of the success of small industries depends upon the personal enthusiasm of the Directors of Industry in the several Provinces. To the extent that this is a very variable quantity, small industries differ in their efficiency and utility as between one Province and another. Province "A" may possess a keen and vigorous Director of Industries in contrast to Province "B", but less natural resources than the latter. The chances are, however, that Province "A" is doing a better all-round job of work than its more generously endowed neighbour. The New Zealand missionary, Rewi Alley, is said to have accomplished wonders in organising small industries in China, where cottage workers are reported to be even producing tommy guns. I believe that at one time there was an idea of bringing Rewi Alley to India, and I can only regard it as a pity that nothing came of it, as I should have thought it an eminently worthwhile investment on the part of the Government of India. What has been a success in China will not necessarily fill the whole of the bill in India. But so far as production by the small man is concerned, we face many common problems, and it would be interesting to know how far the authorities of the two countries are exchanging information.

To resume: The jute industry, of course, was pressed into war service long before the war began. Some of you will remember the announcement of gargantuan official orders for sandbags which began to flow into Calcutta soon after the Munich crisis. Orders

running into millions of bags have from time to time been headline news, but working on the basis of a sixty hour week the hessian looms alone in Bengal mills can produce 93 millions bags per month. Sandbags are not quite as important in this war as they were in the last, when hundreds of miles of trenches in the various theatres of war had to be lined with bags made in the jute mills of Bengal. A.R.P. in various parts, principally the United Kingdom, created a large initial demand for sandbags, but ultimately brick work largely took their place in passive defence. One of the first, and most abiding, results of the war is that peacetime markets for Indian jute products have largely disappeared. Quite apart from the fact that a large part of the Continent has been closed to trade for several years, Manchuria, China, Indo-China and Thailand were amongst India's best customers for what is known in the trade as sacking. These markets have now disappeared. Jute manufacturers are said to have amassed fabulous fortunes in the last war. I doubt if the process is being repeated in this one, for the loss of overseas markets, effective price control, high taxation and rising costs of production must be written down against the very substantial orders which the industry has received from the Governments of the United Nations. It is noteworthy that the jute mills have several times since the beginning of the war, had to seal a percentage of looms and work short time in order to restrict production. This is not because of any lack of demand for jute goods, but on account of the lack of transport. I have mentioned this to show that whatever sort of capitalistic paradise the Indian jute industry may have been in the Great War of 1914-18, the same halcyon conditions have not so far prevailed in the even greater war in which we are now engaged. None the less, there is still a generous margin between the overhead prices of manufactured goods and those of raw materials, and this yields a substantial profit, the existence of which I imagine no mill manager, or his managing agent, would deny. Outside the textile fields we are confronted with a long list of industries, all of which have made a vital contribution to the war effort of the Commonwealth and our Allies. Leather, Aluminium, Mica, Engineering, and Glass-ware and Hardware are but a few of the principal heads of activity that come to my mind. I have not the time at my disposal to deal with each of these in any great detail. Quite apart from her large export trade in hides and skins, India also possesses an important leather tanning and manufacturing industry, which is very largely concentrated in the United Provinces. The varied peace-time range of leather products, normally produced by Indian manufacturers, has been rigorously cut down

in order that they may concentrate on the production of goods which are essential to the war effort. One company alone in 1942 produced 600,000 articles, half of which were for the defence services and the balance for the Indian Police and Indian State forces. One of the difficulties against which the Indian leather industry has had to contend is the grave shortage of machinery, and the difficulty of importing spare parts and replacements. Production has been stepped up very largely by the mobilisation in factories of the homely bazar *moochi*, who has found a profitable place for himself in mass production schemes.

Recently I received a miniature ingot from the Aluminium Production Company of India, Ltd., as a souvenir of the fact that they had begun production at Alupuram in Travancore some months ago. The fabrication of aluminium sheet into various domestic goods had, of course, been going on in India for a good many years but the large-scale production of aluminium itself from India's own deposits of bauxite is, as I have indicated, a comparatively recent war-time development. This is an age of new light alloys, and it is eminently fitting that India should now possess supplies of this important strategic material, which assumes an even greater significance with the establishment of an aircraft industry in this country. There are, I believe, ample supplies of raw material available, and an aluminium industry should be on a firm footing in times of peace when war requirements will give place to a growing demand for aluminium in all branches of industry, and especially in transportation.

The affairs of the Indian mica industry have recently received some prominence in the newspaper press, and it is no part of my business to-night to enter into the controversy which is being waged round this little known, but highly important, activity of the neighbouring province of Bihar. But I may mention that at a very conservative estimate something like 68 per cent of the world's available supplies of mica emanate from this country, and particularly, as I have said, from Bihar, though other important sources of production are also located in the Madras Presidency and Rajputana. When, however, I say that mica is, so far as I know, the only industrial product which at the moment enjoys an air priority, you will understand how very important it is to the Allied war effort as a whole. I believe I am correct in saying that mica is shipped regularly by plane from Karachi to the United Kingdom and the United States of America. It constitutes a most valuable national asset, as it is the most perfect electrical insulator known to science. Indian mica goes into the manufacture of all kinds of electrical

equipment and is required in the manufacture of such essential war apparatus such as aeroplanes, radiolocation plant, generators, wireless equipment and so on. In the memoirs of the last war, the German general Ludendorf ascribed some part of Germany's defeat to her lack of mica, and it is a known fact that towards the end of the campaign German Zeppelins were reduced to employing oil impregnated paper as a very unsatisfactory substitute for mica insulation.

The thing to remember about the Indian engineering industry is that to a very large extent it was, and is, a "jobbing" industry; *i.e.*, its primary function is to service and keep in repair other industries. At the outbreak of war it was not an engineering industry in the fullest sense of the term, making heavy industrial equipment, or such things as machine tools, which are essential to the manufacture of the munitions of war. Its activities were very largely concentrated on the maintenance of mill and mine and machinery, ship and rivercraft repairs and similar secondary activities. The biggest engineering shops in the country are undoubtedly those belonging to the railways. In peace time they are used for the construction and maintenance of rolling stock, and they are well found as to equipment and personnel. It was natural that in the first place the authorities should seek to make the fullest use of such a readily available asset. Of the five big railway workshops in the country, three were at one time wholly engaged in the production of munitions or armaments, though one has had to revert to its normal duties in view of the very heavy strain upon the ageing rolling stock of the Indian railway system. To try to catalogue all that has been made in these establishments is a task beyond the compass of this talk. Suffice it to say that output has ranged from fuse caps to armoured cars. Much the same story applies to all other kinds of civil engineering concerns in the country. Some time ago I visited an engineering shop in the coalfields. In peace time its work mainly consisted of repairing haulage machinery in the adjoining collieries and a little light constructional work on bridges. In 1941, without the addition of any new machinery or any special tuition, the manager was asked to undertake the production of bombs of the trench mortar and aerial varieties. At first monthly output was limited to only a few hundred three inch bombs. In ten months it had risen to 20,000 bombs a month, of which a high percentage were 250 lb. bombs, with moulds for a new line of 500 pounders being got ready for the good work on the other side of the Bay of Bengal. This is a very creditable perfomance for a relatively small jobbing shop, and I think it is even more creditable when one realises that

the concern went into a difficult and entirely new line of production without the necessary precision machinery or trained personnel. Indeed, it was not a matter of ' give us the tools and we will do the job,' ; it was a case of making the tools first, and then learning by bitter experience, and trial and error, how to do the job. This has been the lot of practically every civil engineering concern that has gone over to munitions production in India, and I think it speaks volumes for the power of improvisation which the engineering industry has displayed, as well as for the adaptibility which the Indian workman has shown, that output of munitions has been raised to an undisclosed but very substantial figure. The making of the simpler parts of munitions has very often had to be done on auxiliary machinery, and an example of this is to be found in our own jute mills whose auxiliary machinery has been utilised for the making of various shell parts, whilst the looms and spindles of the mill proper have been engaged on other kinds of war work. Engineering shops, big and little, even down to the small man with a hand forge and a pair of tongs (of which one sees many more up-country than one does in a big modern industrial centre like Calcutta) have displayed astonishing ingenuity and inventiveness. Their achievement is worthy of a better tribute than I can pay it tonight.

And that remark goes for a long list of industrial activities which are making a substantial contribution to the cause of victory but to which I have been unable to make a reference in this very sketchy review of the impact of war on India's industries. We are too near events to get them into their proper perspective but the economic historian of the future will find in this country a large and fruitful field for his researches into the period which is covered by World War Two. We have heard a great deal of what other countries have done to turn their ploughshares into swords and I think a great deal too little of the magnificent contribution which Indian industry has been, and is, making to the common cause. If what I have said tonight, brief and inadequate as it has been, has helped any of you to get a better idea of the important role which Indian industry occupies to-day I shall be very pleased.

G. W. TYSON